The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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PETITION FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

[Every person receiving a copy of this petition is earnestly desired to put it in immediate and thorough circulation for signatures, and return it signed, to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, Room 20, New York.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of —— earnestly but respectfully request, that in any change or amendment of the Constitution you may propose, to extend or regulate Suffrage, there shall be no distinction made between men and women.

NAMES. | NAMES.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON.

Let it be everywhere borne in mind, that the great national event of the season is to be the Woman's Suffrage Convention at the Capital, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 19th and 20th of January. It is to be Pentecostal in numbers, interest and results.

CONGRESS WIDE AWAKE.

Last week we gave good account of Mr. Julian of Indiana on behalf of suffrage for woman. This week we can report similar progress in the Senate also. The following is Senator Wilson's bill to amend an act entitled an act to regulate the elective franchise in the District of Columbia:

Be it enacted, &c., That the word "male" in the first section of the act entitled "An act to regulate the elective franchise in the District of Columbia, passed on the 8th day of January, 1867," be struck out, and that every word in said act applicable to persons of the male sex shall apply equally to persons of the female sex, so that hereafter women, who are inhabitants of the said District of Columbia and citizens of the United States, may vote at all elections and be eligible to civil offices in said District on the same terms and conditions in all respects as men.

Mr. Julian, too, has made the same demand for the District of Columbia, as below:

Mr. Julian, on leave, introduced the following bill further to extend the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia shall be based upon citizenship; and all citizens of the United States, native and naturalized, resident in said District, who are twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and who have not forfeited this right by crime, shall enjoy the same equally, irrespective of sex.

Sec. 2, *And be it further enacted,* That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

And still another by Mr. Julian, as follows:

Mr. Julian, on leave, introduced the following bill further to extend the right of suffrage in the Territories of the United States:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act the right of suffrage in all the Territories of the United States, now or hereafter to be organized, shall be based upon citizenship; and all citizens of the United States, native and naturalized, resident in said Territories, who are twenty one years of age, of sound mind, and who have not forfeited their right by crime, shall enjoy the same equally, irrespective of sex.

Sec. 2, *And be it further enacted,* That all acts or parts of acts, either by Congress or the legislative assemblies of said Territories, inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby declared null and void.

And all these are but a part. Now let the work of petitioning be pushed with an energy and confidence that ensures success. The District of Columbia certainly can be given us this very year. The New York *Herald* is no more than an average of the voice of the intelligent portion of the press in the following excerpts from its columns:

Senator Wilson has introduced a bill so to amend the suffrage laws of the District of Columbia as to give to women of all colors and races, as well as men, the right of suffrage. As Congress has "exclusive powers of legislation over the District of Columbia in all cases whatsoever," here is a fair chance to try the two houses upon this very interesting question. There are a few outspoken members of the Senate in favor of Woman Suffrage, and first and foremost among them is "Old Ben Wade," who goes for the whole programme of negroes' rights and women's rights. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, has so far advanced in the cause of Woman Suffrage that he has proposed to make it a part of the supreme law of the land. But we like the idea of Mr. Wilson of first trying the experiment in the District of Columbia.

We remember the time when, in full view from the west front of the Capitol, there was a regular slave pen, which was also a market where niggers were bought and sold. The abolitionists first raised a hue and cry against that pen, and they kept it up to 1850, when among the compromise measures of Henry Clay passed that year was a provision abolishing the slave trade in the District. Some twelve years later, during the rebellion, the bolder and broader experiment was tried of abolishing slavery *in toto* in said District. These measures over a reserved bit of territory over which Congress possesses absolute authority were deemed judicious experiments and were demanded for the sake of consistency, in view of the legislation resolved upon in southern reconstruction. So now, in view of a constitutional amendment establishing not only manhood suffrage but womanhood suffrage throughout the United States, Mr. Wilson doubtless thinks it wise first to try the experiment of Woman Suffrage in the aforesaid District, to see how it will work. As the District of Columbia has not only survived but has flourished and continues to flourish under emancipation and negro suffrage, we cannot imagine why there should be any hesitation in trying therein the experi-

ment of Woman Suffrage. At all events, let Senator Wilson push forward his bill, so that the country may know, so that General Grant may know, and so that the women may know who in the Senate in favor of negroes' rights will dare to oppose women's rights.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME INSTANCES OF THE FOLLY WHICH THE IGNORANCE OF WOMEN GENERATES; WITH CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON THE MORAL IMPROVEMENT THAT A REVOLUTION IN FEMALE MANNERS MIGHT NATURALLY BE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE.

SECTION II.

ANOTHER instance of that feminine weakness of character, often produced by a confined education, is a romantic twist of the mind, which has been very properly termed *sentimental*.

Women, subjected by ignorance to their sensations, and only taught to look for happiness in love, refine on sensual feelings, and adopt metaphysical notions respecting that passion, which lead them shamefully to neglect the duties of life, and frequently in the midst of these sublime refinements, they plunge into actual vice.

These are the women who are amused by the reveries of the stupid novelists, who, knowing little of human nature, work up stale tales, and describe meretricious scenes, all retailed in a sentimental jargon, which equally tend to corrupt the taste and draw the heart aside from its daily duties. I do not mention the understanding, because never having been exercised, its slumbering energies rest inactive, like the lurking particles of fire, which are supposed universally to pervade matter.

Females, in fact, denied all political privileges, and not allowed, as married women, excepting in criminal cases, a civil existence, have their attention naturally drawn from the interest of the whole community to that of the minute parts, though the private duty of any member of society must be very imperfectly performed, when not connected with the general good. The mighty business of female life is to please, and, restrained from entering into more important concerns by political and civil oppression, sentiments become events, and reflection deepens what it should and would have effaced, if the understanding had been allowed to take a wider range.

But, confined to trifling employments, they naturally imbibe opinions which the only kind of reading calculated to interest an innocent frivolous mind inspires. Unable to grasp any thing great, is it suprising that they find the reading of history a very dry task, and disquisitions addressed to the understanding, intolerably tedious and almost unintelligible? Thus are they necessarily dependent on the novelist for amusement. Yet, when I exclaim against novels, I mean when contrasted with those works which exercise the understanding and regulate the imagination. For, any kind of reading I think better than leaving a blank still a blank, because the mind must receive a degree of enlargement, and obtain a little strength by a slight exertion of its thinking powers; besides, even the productions that are only addressed to the imagination, raise the reader a little above the gross gratification of appetites, to which the mind has not given a shade of delicacy.

This observation is the result of experience for I have known several notable women, and one in particular, who was a very good woman—as good as such a narrow mind would allow her to be, who took care that her daughters (three in number) should never see a novel. As she was a woman of fortune and fashion, they had various masters to attend them, and a sort of menial governess to watch their footsteps. From their masters they learned how tables, chairs, etc., were called in French and Italian; but as the few books thrown in their way were far above their capacities, or devotional, they neither acquired ideas nor sentiments, and passed their time, when not compelled to repeat *words*, in dressing, quarrelling with each other, or conversing with their maids by stealth, till they were brought into company as marriageable.

Their mother, a widow, was busy in the meantime in keeping up her connections, as she termed a numerous acquaintance, lest her girls should want a proper introduction into the great world. And these young ladies, with minds vulgar in every sense of the word, and spoiled tempers, entered life puffed up with notions of their own consequence, and looking down with contempt on those who could not vie with them in dress and parade.

With respect to love, nature, or their their nurses, had taken care to teach them the physical meaning of the word; and, as they had few topics of conversation, and fewer refinements of sentiment, they expressed their gross wishes not in very delicate phrases, when they spoke freely, talking of matrimony.

Could these girls have been injured by the perusal of novels? I almost forgot a shade in the character of one of them; she affected a simplicity bordering on folly, and with a simper would utter the most immodest remarks and questions, the full meaning of which she had learned whilst secluded from the world, and afraid to speak in her mother's presence, who governed with a high hand; they were all educated, as she prided herself, in a most exemplary manner; and read their chapters and psalms before breakfast, never touching a silly novel.

This is only one instance; but I recollect many other women who, not led by degrees to proper studies, and not permitted to choose for themselves, have indeed been overgrown children; or have obtained, by mixing in the world, a little of what is termed common sense; that is, a distinct manner of seeing common occurrences, as they stand detached; but what deserves the name of intellect, the power of gaining general or abstract ideas, or even intermediate ones, was out of the question. Their minds were quiescent, and when they were not roused by sensible objects and employments of that kind they were low-spirited, would cry, or go to sleep.

When, therefore, I advise my sex not to read such flimsy works, it is to induce them to read something superior, for I coincide in opinion with a sagacious man, who, having a daughter and niece under his care, pursued a very different plan with each.

The niece, who had considerable ability, had, before she was left to his guardianship, been indulged in desultory reading. Her he endeavored to lead, and did lead, to history and moral essays; but his daughter whom a fond, weak mother had indulged, and who consequently was averse to everything like application, he allowed to read novels; and used to justify his conduct by saying, that if she ever attained a relish for reading them, he should have some foundation to work upon; and that erroneous opinions were better than none at all.

In fact the female mind has been so totally neglected, that knowledge was only to be acquired from this muddy source, till from reading novels some women of superior talents learned to despise them.

The best method, I believe, that can be adopted to correct a fondness for novels is to ridicule them; not indiscriminately, for then it would have little effect; but if a judicious person, with some turn for humor, would read several to a young girl; and point out, both by tones and apt comparisons, with pathetic incidents and heroic characters in history, how foolishly and ridiculously they caricatured human nature, just opinions might be substituted instead of romantic sentiments.

In one respect, however, the majority of both sexes resemble, and equally show a want of taste and modesty. Ignorant women, forced to be chaste to preserve their reputation, allow their imagination to revel in the unnatural and meretricious scenes sketched by the novel writers of the day, slighting as insipid the sober dignity and matronly grace of history,* whilst men carry the same vitiated taste into life, and fly for amusement to the wanton, from the unsophisticated charms of virtue, and the grave respectability of sense.

Besides, the reading of novels makes women, and particulary ladies of fashion, very fond of using strong expressions and superlatives in conversation; and though the dissipated, artificial life which they lead prevents their cherishing any strong legitimate passion, the language of passion in affected tones slips forever from their glib tongues, and every trifle produces those phosphoric bursts which only mimic in the dark the flame of passion.

SECTION III.

Ignorance and the mistaken cunning that nature sharpens in weak heads, as a principle of self-preservation, render women very fond of dress, and produce all the vanity which such a fondness may naturally be expected to generate to the exclusion of emulation and magnanimity.

I agree with Rousseau, that the physical part of the art of pleasing consists in ornament, and for that very reason I should guard girls against the contagious fondness for dress so common to weak women, that they may not rest in the physical part. Yet, weak are the women who imagine that they can long please without the aid of the mind; or, in other words, without the moral art of pleasing. But the moral art, if it be not a profanation to use the word art, when alluding to the grace which is an effect of virtue, and not the motive of action, is never to be found with ingorance; the sportiveness of innocence, so pleasing to refined libertines of both sexes, is widely different in its essence from this superior gracefulness.

A strong inclination for external ornaments ever appears in barbarous states, only the men not the women adorn themselves; for where women are allowed to be so far on a level with men, society has advanced at least one step in civilization.

The attention to dress, therefore, which has been thought a sexual propensity, I think natu-

* I am not now alluding to that superiority of mind which leads to the creation of ideal beauty, when life, surveyed with a penetrating eye, appears a tragi-comedy in which little can be seen to satisfy the heart without the help of fancy.

ral to mankind. But I ought to express myself with more precision. When the mind is not sufficiently opened to take pleasure in reflection the body will be adorned with sedulous care; and ambition will appear in tattooing or painting it.

So far is the first inclination carried, that even the hellish yoke of slavery cannot stifle the savage desire of admiration, which the black heroes inherit from both their parents, for all the hardly-earned savings of a slave are commonly expended in a little tawdry finery. And I have seldom known a good male or female servant that was not particularly fond of dress. Their clothes were their riches; and I argue from analogy, that the fondness for dress, so extravagant in females, arises from the same cause—want of cultivation of mind. When men meet they converse about business, politics, or literature; but, says Swift, "how naturally do women apply their hands to each others lappets and ruffles." And very natural it is—for they have not any business to interest them, have not a taste for literature, and they find politics dry, because they have not acquired a love for mankind by turning their thoughts to the grand pursuits that exalt the human race and promote general happiness.

Besides, various are the paths to power and fame which, by accident or choice, men pursue, and though they jostle against each other, for men of the same profession are seldom friends; yet there is a much greater number of their fellow-creatures with whom they never clash. But women are very differently situated with respect to each other—for they are all rivals.

Before marriage it is their business to please men; and after, with a few exceptions, they follow the same scent, with all the persevering pertinacity of instinct. Even virtuous women never forget their sex in company, for they are forever trying to make themselves *agreeable*. A female beauty and a male wit appear to be equally anxious to draw the attention of the company to themselves; and the animosity of contemporary wits is proverbial.

Is it, then, surprising that when the sole ambition of woman centres in beauty, and interest gives vanity additional force, perpetual rivalships should ensue? They are all running the same race, and would rise above the virtue of mortals if they did not view each other with a suspicious and even envious eye.

An immoderate fondness for dress, for pleasure and for sway, are the passions of savages; the passions that occupy those uncivilized beings who have not yet extended the dominion of the mind, or even learned to think with the energy necessary to concatenate that abstract train of thought which produces principles. And that women, from their education and the present state of civilized life, are in the same condition, cannot, I think, be controverted. To laugh at them then, or satirize the follies of a being who is never to be allowed to act freely from the light of her own reason, is as absurd as cruel; for that they who are taught blindly to obey authority will endeavor cunningly to elude it, is most natural and certain.

Yet let it be proved that they ought to obey man implicitly, and I shall immediately agree, that it is woman's duty to cultivate a fondness for dress, in order to please, and a propensity to cunning for her own preservation.

The virtues, however, which are supported by ignorance, must ever be wavering—the house built on sand could not endure a storm. It is almost unnecessary to draw the inference. If women are to be made virtuous by authority, which is a contradiction in terms, let them be immured in seraglios and watched with a jealous eye. Fear not that the iron will enter into their souls—for the souls that can bear such treatment are made of yielding materials, just animated enough to give life to the body.

"Matter too soft a lasting mark to bear,
And best distinguish'd by black, brown, or fair."

The most cruel wounds will of course soon heal, and they may still people the world and dress to please man—all the purposes which certain celebrated writers have allowed that they were created to fill.

SECTION IV.

Women are supposed to possess more sensibility, and even humanity, than men, and their strong attachments and instantaneous emotions of compassion are given as proofs; but the clinging affection of ignorance has seldom any thing noble in it, and may mostly be resolved into selfishness, as well as the affection of children and brutes. I have known many weak women whose sensibility was entirely engrossed by their husbands; and as for their humanity, it was very faint indeed, or rather it was only a transient emotion of compassion. "Humanity does not consist in a squeamish ear," says an eminent orator. "It belongs to the mind as well as the nerves."

But this kind of exclusive affection, though it degrade the individual, should not be brought forward as a proof of the inferiority of the sex, because it is the natural consequence of confined views; for even women of superior sense, having their attention turned to little employments, and private plans, rarely rise to heroism unless when spurred on by love; and love as an heroic passion, like genius, appears but once in an age. I therefore agree with the moralist who asserts, "that women have seldom so much generosity as men," and that their narrow affections, to which justice and humanity are often sacrificed, render the sex apparently inferior, especially as they are commonly inspired by men; but I contend that the heart would expand as the understanding gained strength, if women were not depressed from their cradles.

I know that a little sensibility and great weakness will produce a strong sexual attachment, and that reason must cement friendship; consequently I allow, that more friendship is to be found in the male than the female world, and that men have a higher sense of justice. The exclusive affections of women seem indeed to resemble Cato's most unjust love for his country. He wished to crush Carthage, not to save Rome but to promote its vain glory; and in general, it is to similar principles that humanity is sacrificed, for genuine duties support each other.

Besides, how can women be just or generous, when they are the slaves of injustice?

(*To be Continued.*)

THE CHINESE WOMAN'S TELEGRAPH.

During the recent visit here of the Chinese Ambassadors, one of them stated in reply to the inquries of a physician, that it was not customary in China, except among the lower classes of the people, for the doctor to see or touch female patients. In order to ascertain the pulse of the sick woman, a string is tied around her wrist and is extended outside the window to the doctor, who holds the string between thumb and finger and by this form of telegraph is enabled to count the pulsations. This seems a ludicrous plan; but it is far less mischievous than our custom of admitting men doctors to the private apartments of females. The opportunities for the medical education of women in this country are greatly increasing; and we hope the day is not far distant when the women will be able to rout the men from the sick room, and compel them to stand out in the cold, under the window sill. In China, only women nurses attend in child-birth.—*Scientific American.*

ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE.

MANCHESTER, England, 28th Nov., 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

I SEND you herewith the first Annual Report of the Manchester National Society for Woman's Suffrage. It was adopted at a crowded meeting in the Town Hall on the 30th ult. It was not without many misgivings that our committee decided to accept the Mayor's courteous permission to use his parlor, a spacious room in the Town Hall, for the annual meeting. It had fallen upon an unfavorable time for presenting our cause before the general public. The exigencies of the period pressed upon us with threefold force. The United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic had just held its annual meeting, a demonstration five or six thousand strong, in the Free Trade Hall. Three veterans, on whose aid we might have counted—Sir John Bowring, Archdeacon Sandford, and Professor F. W. Newman—had assisted at the Alliance Meeting and returned to their homes in the south the week before. There was no hope of again luring them back from their seclusion to the turbulent atmosphere of our "Moral Metropolis." The municipal elections, which always take place in November, were pending, and the candidates for civic honors were fully occupied with their own affairs. The still more important Parliamentary elections were close at hand, and, in view of their absorbing interest, we could only hope for a hearing of our cause on sufferance, in a breathing moment of the canvassers. We decided, in spite of these discouragements, to risk a public meeting, for we had made some important advances since last year, and we did not feel inclined to hide our light under a bushel. The fact that the Town Hall was offered to us by the Mayor of Manchester was, in itself, significant, for he had refused to preside at our large meeting in May, when the Mayor of Salford, H. D. Pachin, now M.P. for Stafford, took the chair. When the day for our meeting came, you may imagine the relief, the satisfaction, the triumph we felt, to find our advertisement and invitation cards so fully responded to, and a most "respectable" meeting assembled. The *Examiner and Times* has given a summary of the speeches. I heard Ernest Jones describe the meeting afterwards as "one of the most important ever held in Manchester." In his own speech, Mr. Jones pertinently remarked, that the usual objection that women are considered differently from men appeared to him one of the strongest arguments for their legal equality, not only for their own sakes, but for the general good.

The newspapers will furnish you with the particulars of the appeals to the Court of Common Pleas, in London, against the decision of the revising barristers refusing to place the names of women on the register of qualified electors. I may confide to you briefly the view of this matter from the standpoint of the committees. In the belief that the barristers would reject all women's names, the appeals were resolved upon before the work of revision had begun. When, to our surprise, several of the barristers retained the names of women on the revised lists, the question arose: "Shall we pursue the appeals and so obtain a legal decision on the validity of our claims, or shall we postpone the appeals for

the present, and, adopting the Fabian policy of delay, persist in a species of guerilla warfare, from year to year, in the registration courts?" It was argued, on this side of the question, that most reforms had been won, as a matter of history, by persistently taking advantage of undefended positions, and so gradually gaining on the enemy, rather than by going boldly up to his entrenchments and stoutly contesting the right as we proposed to do.

The final decision, as you are aware, was to adopt this latter course. The committees felt that they had gone too far to draw back with honor. The appeals were forwarded, counsel retained, and the decision was given—against us. The most sanguine could not have expected any other result. London is, in many respects, behind the provinces on this question. The barristers said at the outset, we had "not the ghost of a chance." The judges were scarcely decent in the hearing of the case. Although much interest was excited in the proceedings in the courts, and never was such a collection of wigs seen in Westminster, and although scores of ladies and gentlemen had to go away, unable to obtain an entrance, the cases had not an equitable hearing. The *animus* of the court was against us. It was a foregone conclusion rather than a judicial sentence.

If our policy was suicidal, it arose from rashness like that at Bull Run. In our bloodless battle let us hope for as brilliant a solution of this question as that which followed your first defeat. But we are not discouraged. It may be that our success is postponed. It is not the less sure. The legal basis on which we presumed is taken from us; the everlasting foundations of morality and reason, of right and justice on which our cause rests, are unassailable. In the strength of this conviction we have renewed our efforts.

Our first work after the decision at Westminster was to forward the following note to every candidate and Member of Parliament in the United Kingdom. These notes were sent by post from the committees in Manchester, Edinburgh and Dublin about a week before the election, signed by the respective secretaries in those places:

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE,
Nov. 10, 1868.

SIR: The decision in the Court of Common Pleas having been adverse to the claims of women to vote in the election of Members of Parliament, a bill will be introduced into the House of Commons to establish their right to vote on the same conditions as men. Will you kindly inform me whether you will, if returned, support such a bill. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

——— ———, Secretary.

The Manchester committee has received above a hundred replies to this letter already, and they are still dropping in. They are couched in various forms of agreement or dissent, given in every variety of diction, from the simplest

DEAR MADAM: I will. Yours truly.

——— ———.

to the most prolix, covering four pages of letter-paper, and kindly apportioning to us our "appropriate sphere." We have received, so far, fifty-three distinct and cordial pledges of support in the new Parliament. Several women whose names had, by accident, been left on the Register, voted at the elections last week. In Manchester, eight recorded their votes, all but one, on the Liberal side. "Their names," says an editor, "were, it seems, left on the Register by oversight, owing to their resembling those commonly worn by the usurping sex of man, and they availed themselves of the opportunity thus given to demonstrate their interest in politics."

Eight women freeholders voted in South-east Lancashire this week. At Ashford, in East Kent, the names of thirty-five women were on the register, but the chairman of the Liberal and Conservative Committees had issued a joint circular requesting them not to vote (lest their doing so should endanger the validity of the election). "Several of the ladies, not approving of this," says the reporter, "went to the polls and recorded their votes." In Finsbury, more than fifteen ladies registered their votes, whilst perfect order prevailed. In Dublin, one woman voted with impunity. In Leicester, two or three voted. A letter from Scotland states that the Edinburgh committee has received a great many answers to the letter to members and candidates requesting their support of the claims of woman to the franchise. As one might have expected from Scotland, which is nearly all Liberal, a good proportion of these answers are favorable. But liberal politics do not always imply the advocacy of Woman Suffrage. The City of Manchester returns three M.P.'s, and the borough of Salford, which adjoins it, returns two members. Of these we have three supporters of our cause: Mesrrs. T. Bagley and Jacob Bright, Liberals, of Manchester, and Mr. W. T. Chanley, Conservative, of Salford. The new Parliament will chiefly miss J. S. Mill, the moral leader of the House, H. A. Bruce, the educationist, and Milner Gibson, the frustrater. Looking at the result of the elections with regard to politics generally, you will see that the Liberal party will have a majority of over a hundred votes in our new Parliament, although many disappointments have occurred, especially in Lancashire, in consequence of the recent extension of the suffrage to the ignorant classes. This is an argument for the advocates of an educational qualification. But for the working classes, as well as for women, the franchise is itself a step towards a wider education—a means toward that end. In the case of our poor people, the Liberal party will, no doubt, from year to year, as enlightenment spreads, have its ranks recruited from those who, for want of knowledge, now fall an easy prey to the Tories.

I enclose you the first Report of the committee formed to support Mr. Shaw Lefevre's bill to amend the law with respect to the property of married women. This report was drawn up at the end of last session. The committee will resume its labors with the new Parliament. The cause has many advocates and adherents who do not sympathize with the Suffrage movement. The present state of the law is a crying evil amongst our working people. In the middle and upper classes, too, there is a vast amount of unrecorded suffering and monstrous injustice from these relics of patriarchal times on our statute-book. The committee of inquiry appointed last session recommended amendment of these laws.

In literary matters, there are a few items of interest connected with woman this week. Mrs. S. C. Hall has been placed on the pension list for £100 a year. Miss Glyn resumes her Shaksperian Readings. Miss Becker's paper at the British Association at Norwich has drawn attention to her from various quarters. She goes to Nottingham next week to fulfil an engagement to lecture on the Study of Science for Women. Miss Emily Faithfull is to lecture on the Claims of Women, in London, on the 10th December.

Rossini's Will has just been published. He left everything to his "beloved wife," Olympe Descuilliers, during her life, but at her death the bulk of his property is to go to his native town, Pesaro, in Italy, there to found a Conservatoire that will bear his name. Two prizes of 3,000 francs each are, however, to be given annually in Paris, and to Frenchmen only, the one for a musical composition, the other for the words to which the music has been written. The Maestro's injunction to the authors of these words, to observe "les lois de la morale, dont les ecrivains ne tiennent pas toujours assez compte," reminds one of Tennyson's definition of women and men, "perfect music into noble words." If you will permit a quotation from the "Princess," I shall ask you to read that famous passage, written twenty-one years ago, in the light of the present claims of woman for complete development and for the moral and physical rights which are indispensable to that development. Keeping in view these claims, does not the fact demand all we ask for? Is not the Nemesis he deprecates palpable in our present social and political systems, and is not the prophecy in which he indulges, the result at which we aim?

"The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free;
For she that out of Lethe scales with man
The shining steps of Nature, shares with man
His nights, his days, moves with him to one goal,
Stays all the fair young planet in her hands—
If *she* be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall *men* grow? We two will serve them both
In aiding her; strip off, as in us lies,
(Our place is much) the parasitic forms
That seem to keep her up, but drag her down—
Will leave her field to burgeon and to bloom
From all within her, to live and learn and be
All that not harms distinctive womanhood.
For woman is not undeveloped man
But diverse: could we make her as the man,
Sweet love were slain, whose dearest bond is this
Not like to like, but like in difference:
Yet in the long years *liker must they grow;*
The *man* be more of *woman, she* of *man;*
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care:
More as the double natured poet, each;
Till at last she set herself to man,
Like perfect music unto noble words;
And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time,
Sit side by side, full-summ'd in all their powers—
Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be;
Self-reverent each and reverencing each,
Distinct in individualities,
But like each other ev'n as those who love.
Then reign the world's great bridals, chaste and calm
Then springs the crowning race of human.
May these things be!"

R. M.

HOW? WHY?

Editors of the Revolution:

THE first copy of a year's subscription to "THE REVOLUTION" lies before me.

I subscribed first to its principles, then to the paper; shall I answer the questions, How? Why? and trace out briefly the moment from what was rather a state of apathy than opposition, to concurrent sympathy with its theories?

In the September number of Putnam's *Monthly* is an article entitled "Woman's Work and Wages," largely statistical, and in one point, indicating the majority—the excess of women over men in many portions of the country, encouraging in connection with the idea of the time coming when a ballot counts as a ballot, a woman as a woman, a man a man—and nothing more.

This excess was the point on which my mentally convincing argument turned.

Let me copy a few facts and figures for a text. By the last census (1860) in Mass., there were 36,970 more females than males, in Connecticut 7,082, and in New York of marriageable age—to this the two preceding states had no reference —132,837.

Well may the question arise "What is to be done with the women."

Society, answering with as much reflection as it has ever given, says, "get them married." But even were that the end and aim of all existence, it is completely squelched by the excess; showing conclusively that the opportunities for marriage are exceedingly small; and we are forced to turn to some other point for disposal, the more from the fact that a majority of the same women are dependent on their own exertions for support.

A score of years ago there were just three ways in which a single woman might live—or die: as school teacher, seamstress, or "living out" in families.

Happily we have got a little beyond these restrictive ideas as regards employments, but we are far enough yet from a desideratum, whose corner-stone is simply fairness.

The idea has long since been scouted, that all men were in any sense born "equal"—woman the same; but it is no reason why we should scout the idea—woman is eligible to any position her qualifications fit her to fill, or that the same means be allowed for her qualifications as to her brother—man.

The idea is based on justice only—justice that demands for equal labor equal remuneration, justice that sees suffering and wrong only as such without regard to sex, and that opens to each and all the same means to attain the same ends.

To that grand culminating, decisive power, the ballot, we attain only with time, supported by such array of power as knows no refusal.

It is coming, and when it reaches us and we see its power, and know its effect, it may be well to recall this majority, this "excess," and see how much it has meaning—when to repeat a once used phrase, a ballot is a ballot, a woman a woman, and a man *but* a man. L. B.

THE ENMITY OF WOMEN.

On all sides, from all quarters and for all time, the cry has been raised of woman's enmity to woman.

And now, since women are commanding attention in a new field, and the probabilities that the right of franchise will soon be theirs, that charge is more frequently made and more widely applied.

It is predicted by men who are professedly (!) initiated into all the mysteries of the feminine mind, that admission to the ballot-box will give them a wider scope for the exercise of that much-to-be-regretted characteristic. On this ground womanhood suffrage is opposed by conscientious and order-loving males!

Bless their loving souls! who among us will ever appreciate the disinterestedness of those *good* men who close their eyes at broad noonday and declare it dark night? All for the sake of being impartial, too.

Now, the faithlessness and hatred of women toward each other comes of envy and rivalry combined, and these two essentially feminine traits spring from the universal and absolute dependence of woman upon man. Woman's prosperity and position in life and society—and what is life without society (!)—depending upon marriage, and an eligible marriage depending upon the favorable impression (this does not include old maids and *strong-minded* women) made upon *all* men, because of the uncertainty as to which one will eventually own her, she sees in every other woman a possible rival, or, at least, a laborer in the same field, and consequently a lessening of her own chances.

Were women as independent and secure of their future as men are, could they make their choice of occupations, from boot-blacking to legislation, with an equal certainty of success and remuneration, no such state of things could exist. Fewer women would want to marry, and those who did marry would do so from choice and not from necessity or for convenience.

Men could then look into the bright eyes which grew brighter at their approach, with the certainty that if the white lids drooped they were not trying to conceal the hard glitter of greedy exultation conjured in the tell-tale depths by visions of establishments off and on wheels—diamonds, silks "standing alone," the imaginary soft folds of a fabulous priced India or camel's-hair shawl, and a fathomless pocket filled with greenbacks.

A most glorious vision for the little beauty who has not the prescience to see beyond and beneath those things. If she knew that the same means of getting them were as accessible to her as to the man, the only consideration left to her or her parents, would be the love and fitness each for the other; and she would be enabled to see the horrible risk of marrying a man for his possessions, or for such portion as she might win from him, or he see fit to bestow.

With this clear and untrammelled vision, she could see herself a loveless and unloved wife, sitting in tearless agony over the dying embers of the midnight fire, waiting for the man to whom she had sold herself, and whose only power over her was through the *name* of husband.

The inexorable marriage law tells her that her life must expiate her folly, and that Gorgon head "society" grins the warning that if she attempts to free herself her fate will be *worse* than death.

The establishment has become a prison; the diamonds thorns; the stiff and costly silks have become cords of bondage, and the magnificent shawl a winding-sheet for dead hopes. In such cases we see what tenacity of life means; and cannot help wondering by what strange perversity of nature the machine is kept moving, long after all motive power is gone—because of the preceding impetus I suppose, something after the manner of mill-wheels after the bands are cast off.

There is no solution to this mystery of woman's suffering and man's degradation save through the ballot-box. The study of political economy will thereby become fashionable, and will be a very valuable and effective counter-irritant to all kinds of rivalry which at present feminine flesh is heir to. The injurious rivalry of to-day will become laudable emulation in a good cause. S. F. N.

The town of Marietta, Ga., is to take a vote of property owners, male and female, upon the proposition to have an act passed by the next Legislature authorizing the levying of an extra tax, sufficient to raise the sum of $4,000, to purchase a suitable house and lot for a female college.

WOMAN IN RUSSIA.

The two letters below are from *L'Invalide Russi*, translated for "The Revolution" by Mrs. Miller.

Kalisch, Oct. 1868.

Sir: The ladies of Kalisch wishing to express their deep interest in the education of Russian women, have decided to make known, through the press, their determination to adhere to the project which has already been presented to the University of St. Petersburg, of establishing Faculties of History, of Philology, and of the Natural Sciences for the benefit of woman.

In sending the accompanying letter to your estimable paper, allow me to say that it was not written under the influence of a transient enthusiasm, nor from any trifling motive. It is an expression of the urgent necessity for our studying European Science, and the modern means by which European civilization is developed and advanced,—it is the declaration of mothers of families, anxious for the fate of their daughters who will have to meet, in life, a different order of things, and new social needs.

Up to the present day, thoroughly educated women have been rare, the world over, but particularly with us. Modern civilization which has made progress beyond example, in the sciences, in civil economy, and in the well being of man, has employed the aid of woman in the domain of family life only. But if woman has done nothing it is because she has not had the means of instructing herself. We cite a case where a woman by happy chance received educational advantages—John Stuart Mill acknowledges with love and gratitude, her co-operation in his best philosophical works.

In America the education and first teaching of children is confined exclusively to woman. With us, also, the University instruction will furnish to some hundred women the means of teaching the sciences thoroughly, and educating children either in families, or in schools for young girls; it will furnish them, also, means of directing cultivation in the widest sense of the word and to aid their families in industrial and commercial affairs. We do not say that, developed by a course of University study, the mental and moral nature of woman will bring to science a new element. But it is very certain that superior education will make woman capable of sharing worthily the labor of her father, her husband, her brothers, her sons.

We have not spoken of a *Medical* faculty, simply because we have not wished to diverge from the project already presented by the ladies of St. Petersburg. But the necessity for female physicians is manifest and urgent, and in certain branches of medicine the intuition and experience of woman would prove a most valuable acquisition. Receive, etc.,

The princess, Marie Stcherbatof.

Kalisch, Oct. 20, 1868.

The question of the establishment of a University, or at least, of two Faculties; one of History and Philology, and the other of the Natural Sciences for woman, absorbs the attention of the little circle of Russian ladies in Kalisch.

The wide-spread opinion that this question does not merit serious attention, having been raised simply by a small number of ladies in St. Petersburg, forces us to resort to publicity in order to testify our most earnest adherence to the project.

We shall not undertake to state here the arguments known to all the world—arguments in

favor of this excellent work, based on the belief that the education of woman tends to the development of the race. We who sympathize in these views have but to express the hope that in other cities still, of our vast country, women will express publicly their opinion on a question which so intimately concerns them.

All these declarations will then reunite in a powerful voice in favor of this question and despite all its enemies, will prove to the eye of government, and to our people, how strong within us is the conviction of the necessity for a higher education, and with what quick sympathy we are in unison on this point.

Signed : the PRINCESS STCHERBATOF,
A. DE STEMPEL,
PRINCESS E. GALITSYNE,
COUNTESS EFIMOVSKY,
BARONESS FRANK,

and sixteen others.

LETTER FROM IRELAND.

DUBLIN, November 28, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution :

THE cause you so ably advocate is becoming a great fact, as can be seen by the *Herald* of the 12th inst., where it announces the triumph of Miss S. B. Anthony in establishing, *ipso facto*, the Working Women's Association, which, as the *Herald* states, had its existence only a few weeks ago, by Miss Anthony, at a small tea party in "THE REVOLUTION" office, and from a small society of ten, it has multiplied to 100 members. Notwithstanding the sarcasms of the *Herald*, it is growing rapidly, and extending its fruitful branches to every extremity of the earth's surface. In Manchester, England, eight ladies recorded their votes at the election. Two ladies voted at the Dublin election. This shows the power of your teachings, and before twelve months will have elapsed, the rights of women will be an accomplished and acknowledged fact.

The elections are over in this country, but what a contrast with your elections! The American elections are carried on without much noise or tumult or broken heads or murder, and when over, peace and good will reign supreme. But in happy England and unfortunate Ireland, nothing is to be seen but ill feeling, rancor, tyranny, oppression, bribery, intimidation, drunkenness, smashed heads and murder. After the elections, are to be seen, inquests, ill feelings, vindictiveness, and every kind of riotousness and vice; and this is England and her boasted constitution!

F. T. B.

GERMAN WOMEN IN CONGRESS.

Or the Congress of German Women, held in Heidelberg, the 27th of last October, we find in the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, of 21st Nov., a very interesting sketch, of which we give a part :

The question first in order was the prison punishment best suited to women. It was received with great surprise, but on consideration every one felt it to be not only a serious, but an appropriate question; that as woman, like man, must submit to the penalty of crime, so must she have a voice in choosing that penalty. An excellent discourse was delivered by M. Roeder, Prof. of the Heidelberg University, in favor of confinement in cells; and, strange as it may seem, this Congress of women accepted his opinion!

The second question was, the mortality of infants, which they decided was owing chiefly to the ignorance of mothers. They drew up a paper expressing the wish that the state should impose on young girls the necessity of passing an examination, establishing their capacity for the duties of maternity, before allowing them to form marriage contracts.

They considered the question of fashion and extravagance, protested against the quickly changing fashions, short lived as the rose. They were severe on the absurd follies of dress in this age. To remedy this excess, they resolved to form a committee, composed of painters, manufacturers, physicians and dress makers, whose duty it should be to invent new modes of dress, which once adopted would not be subject to the infinite changes of fashion. One step farther, they determined the re-establishment of Roman Censors. Fashion is indeed a powerful enemy. It seems to me, that of all tyrannies, it will be the last to yield. Be that as it may, the committee was formed, and will soon present the plan of a costume, simple, elegant and healthful for women. Simplicity, elegance and hygiene, three magic words! But we wait the end.

From luxury to benevolent societies, the distance is short, since charity is, to tell the truth, but a tribute which wealth pays to poverty. This Congress is opposed to those benevolent societies, which are often but pretexts for self-display, and a means of using public misery for the profit of certain religious coteries. Instead of these societies, it demands that we shall establish others for the encouragement of, and ennobling labor.

The last session was devoted to the consideration of wages. Madame Meta Dauwel drew a dark and startling picture of the miserable lot of the working women, forced by indifferent pay, into the path of perdition.

I do not insist—but, hackeneyed as this accusation against the economy of society may have become—whether we discuss it, or remain quiet, it exists none the less, and will one day lead to some great catastrophe, like that provoked by slavery in the United States.

E. SEINGUERLET.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE.

ST. LOUIS, MO., Dec. 2d, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution :

IT may be interesting to the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" to hear of the sentiment of the people west of the Mississippi river respecting Female Suffrage. The sharp discussion of the negro question the past six years, has led people to think earnestly on the question of enfranchising woman, and they are beginning to admit females have a few rights men are bound to respect, among them that of voting and being voted for. That sentiment will rapidly gather strength in the future. Hundreds of men to-day advocate Female Suffrage, that two years ago ridiculed it. Three years since I introduced into the Legislature a proposition for amending the constitution so as to enfranchise woman, and not ten men would support it. To-day, if the same proposition was submitted to the individuals composing that Legislature, one-third would support it from conviction and another third for the purpose of submitting it to the popular vote. Thus the cause is gaining strength among the intelligent and liberal minded men, and will, in a few years, prevail in Missouri.

We have, however, among us a class of men who fear it, and throw every obstacle in their power in the way of its final success. That class is composed of office seeking, caucus-manipulating politicians. Without convictions on any subject, they manage to tie themselves to each and every party the moment it becomes strong enough to dispense official patronage and live without their aid.

That class of men are the mule-drivers, camp-followers, sutlers and cowards that hang on to every army of progress, and manage to be on hand to pick up the spoils left behind by the enemy on his defeat, by true and brave men. This section has a large number of them. They have an organ in the Missouri *Democrat*, a journal boasting of its ability to do all things in order, and indicate the exact time to advocate new measures. That exact time has always been the moment its editors and proprietors can put more money into their purses by advocating than opposing the measure. It opposed negro suffrage until its patrons pricked it into its support. It denounced, two years ago, those who believed suffrage should be secured to all citizens grown up to maturity, regardless of race, color, or sex, as wild agitators, "more desirous of being right in 1900 than at present." It supported Andrew Johnson and his policy until its proprietors found the St. Louis Post Office would not be given it as a reward for its support. It never yet has had the manhood to lead public opinion on any subject whatever, since B. Gratz Brown gave up its editorship, because its proprietors would not permit him to write in the language of manhood and tried to force him into whining out the moanings of fear.

Its course on the subject of Female Suffrage is pretty much what it has been upon all other subjects. A day or two since it came out with an article, coolly informing the friends of that measure, "that those who originate a theory, almost never carry it through to realization." It asserted as a reason for such a state of things, that it required "practical, common sense management" to make Female Suffrage a success. That journal has always been very severe upon Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton for their willingness to receive the aid of Democrats as well as that of Republicans in the work of woman's emancipation. "Practical common sense management," according to the *Democrat*, is never to mention Female Suffrage until it can be done without danger of defeating its candidates for postmaster and constable. When that time arrives, the influence of that journal may be thrown in the direction of Female Suffrage, provided the women take up a collection large enough to pay it its price for such support.

The truth is Female Suffrage, like all other reforms, must agitate its way into position. No one party will adopt it as a party measure in its infancy and weakness. It must go out into the by-ways and hedges, and pick up voters from any and all parties where voters are to be found. If "THE REVOLUTION" is able to convert the present dead and fossilized democratic organization to its doctrines, God speed it on its work, for it would be as great a reform as was ever yet worked out in any age or country. The time has fully come for an earnest determined agitation of the woman question and the man who excuses himself, on the plea of one war at a time, must be regarded as a foe to the movement. The negro question has been essentially settled and only details are left for the work of the future. The last election as much settled the main question as the war of the Revolution settled the main question of American Independence. The great labor of negro agitation is now performed, and Female Suffrage is the next great question for settlement. While I have no doubt but the mass of the Republican party will speedily adopt that idea, I yet hope to see Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton winning converts from the hardened sinners in the Democratic organization. The Woman's Rights platform is broad enough for all, and I sincerely hope to see all men, regardless of party predilections, step on to it.

This winter is a fitting time to petition Congress to undo its monstrous work of inserting the word male in the National Constitution, and authorizing one class of citizens to disfranchise another. Let the friends of women everywhere torment Congress, day and night, until an amendment granting Female Suffrage is submitted to the state Legislatures for adoption.

I find "THE REVOLUTION" is winning golden opinions all over the land. Its articles are sensible, well written, and provoke discussion and thought. There has been more good sense in your editorial articles than ever appeared in the *Nation* or any other such very respectable Miss Nancy journal. I was much pleased with Mrs. Stanton's defense of Miss A. E. Dickinson against the attacks of the *Nation*. It is true that no man at 25 or of 40 years of age ever yet has been able to sway an audience as she can by appeals to their moral sentiments. She is an honor to the republic, and so far from refusing to encourage her to speak, every man and woman in the nation should bid her God speed in the work she has undertaken. If she has not had the advantages of culture some others have, she excels all her co-workers in speaking effectually the language of truth and virtue and in writing a book full of life, feeling and soul. Miss Dickinson is one of the noble and pure women raised up by the almighty to aid in the work of elevating humanity to a purer and nobler existence. God bless her labors, should and will be the response of every true and virtuous man and woman in the republic.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENE.

EXTRACT of a letter from Mrs. Roberts, the eminent woman farmer in Wisconsin, sending a list of subscribers to "THE REVOLUTION :"

I have been very much interested in reading of the progress making in the various Associations for the benefit of the working class of women. May God and good angels speed the day when woman shall rise to her true position. The cause is progressing in Wisconsin, but we need still more earnest effort here, as everywhere else.

An instance of personal independence which is worthy of record I wish to send you to make use of as you may see fit. A girl of seventeen summers who had been a

student in the high school of one of our cities for nearly two years went into the country during summer vacation, and finding there was a chance for work in the harvest-field, tried her hand at raking and binding which she followed all through harvest, receiving just the same wages paid to every man in the field. She said she found it hard work, but it was good pay. But, said I, you could not do as much as the men, could you? She replied, that she did not allow them to get ahead of her.

This was an American girl, one who is not ashamed to work for a living, esteeming it far more honorable to labor than to live in idleness and have others work for her support.

Another girl, twelve years old, neither very large nor strong, tried hop-picking, and then went to piling peat fuel into cribs and earned one dollar per day and board, thus proving that those who will, may make themselves useful and make it pay.

Yours for progression, P. J. Roberts.
Racine, Wis.

WOMAN'S DRESS.

Lake Constane, Wright Co., Minnesota,
Dec. 3d, 1868.

To E. C. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony:

The only valid reason Secretary McCulloch could have for discharging the female clerks in the Treasury Department is that their hoops and long dresses are in the way, and that there is too much flirtation going on. Now all this would be remedied by the ladies adopting the "neuter" dress, something like what Dr. Mary E. Walker, Juliet Stillman, and others, wear, for that kind of dress is not more in the way than men's. Such dress would not excite men as much as the one generally worn, which is not only ridiculous, but shamefully indecent. It is, indeed, too much to ask that any person shall have respect for one who dresses as women generally do, dragging the dirt along with the slime in the streets. It is a fool's dress, inconvenient, unhealthy, costly, nasty, reminding of prostitutes. Hoops were, no doubt, invented to conceal pregnancy, and no virtuous woman ought to wear them.

It is *cowardice* to not wear the neuter dress. If, in some places, a few policemen do not know better than to arrest a woman for wearing a rational dress, they will soon learn it. No real gentleman will ever insult a lady for wearing such a dress; and no vagabond or blackguard can. In Washington, I accompanied Dr. Mary E. Walker about half a mile on the streets, and she was not insulted by anybody. One or two boys said only, "See the lady doctor," or something like that, which was more a compliment than an insult. Let the first thing the women's leagues do, be to adopt the neuter dress and fix a certain day when all at the same time will adopt it. This is easier accomplished than voting, only a little moral courage is needed. *All* depends on the women *themselves*. Do not shirk your duties.

Yours respectfully, if you wear the neuter dress,
Frans H. Widstrand.

LETTER FROM GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

HOW ENGLAND MAKES IRISH BEAUTIES.—WHY NOT MAKE MRS. GRANT A MEMBER OF THE CABINET?—A FEW MAXIMS FOR YOUNG GIRLS.

Four Courts Marshalsea,
Dec. 6th, 1868.

Dear "Revolution": Nine months in jail and not yet delivered from the Philistines. But what's the odds? Costello and Warren have been twice that, and Reverdy Johnson has had a dozen banquets. "America, 'tis to thee, sweet land of liberty!" "The Star-spangled Banner, long may it wave!" *Three cheers for Seward.*

HOW ENGLAND MAKES AN IRISH BEAUTY.

It was Kohl, a celebrated German traveller, who thus wrote a few years ago:

I endeavored to discover the original race of the ancient Irish, and the beauty of the women. But how could I venture to give an opinion? Take the loveliest of the English maidens from the saloons of Belgravia; carry her—not for life, but for one short season—into an Irish hovel; feed her on water and potatoes; clothe her in rags; expose her blooming cheek and alabaster neck to the scorching beams of the sun, and the drenching torrents of rain: let her wade with naked feet through marshy bogs; with her delicate hands pick up the dung that lies in the road, and carefully stow it by the side of her mud resting place; give her a hog to share this with her; to all this add no consolatory remembrance of the past, no cheering hope of the future—nothing but misery—a misery which blunts and stupefies the mind—a misery of the past, the present and the future; would the traveller, should this image of woe crawl from out of her muddy hovel, and imploringly extend her shrivelled hand, recognize the noble maiden whom, a few short weeks before, he admitted as the model of English beauty? And yet the children, with their dark hair and black eyes, so gay and playful in their tatters—created in the image of God—are, in a few years, by the fault of man, and the government, so worn out, without advantage to themselves or others, that the very beasts of the field might look down on them with scorn. Ah! what a frightful amount of wrong-doing, despotism, heartlessness, and misrule has the English government to answer for, in regard to poor Ireland!"

Who has travelled so far as I have? Have I not been in every land? And when I move my eyes are open; and I can truly say, that no other slave country can record such miserable hovels—such poverty of comfort—such pitiful food—such terrible misery as these Irish slaves. But it cannot last long. The secret fires are burning under the Castle. The spirit of the brave is stirred to Revolution, and Ireland is about to take a leap in the sunshine!

WHY SHOULD NOT THE PRESIDENT'S WIFE SIT IN THE CABINET?

These changes must come in time. We may as well discuss them before hand. We must commence to educate our daughters to be stateswomen. Does not Victoria sit with her council? Does not Eugenie have a chair with the ministers? If an Empress and a Queen do these *unwomanly* acts, why should not Mrs. Gen. Grant? Lady Pitt was made a peeress before Chatham was a peer. So was Lady Palmerston. The wives of English statesmen have much to do with politics. Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Madison were powers in the state. America is full of Catherines, Elizabeths, Louisas, Isabellas and Maria Teresas. All we have to do is to break down the Hyde Park railings of custom, and let the women in to vote. The London comic papers are all laughing at *Mrs.* Mill's defeat, as they sneeringly call the philosopher. But this Woman question can no longer be laughed down. The wedge was inserted when women began to go to political meetings. When an iceberg, anchored in the sea, begins to move southward, the Gulf Stream soon dissolves the stubborn mass. So will it be with equal rights. Already the Iceland of prejudice is giving way under the warming influences of "The Revolution."

ALL VERY WELL, BUT NOT ENOUGH OF IT.

A Few Maxims for Young Girls.—Never make your appearance in the morning without first having dressed yourself neatly and completely. Keep your clothing, especially under-clothing, in perfect order. Never let pins do duty as buttons, or strings take the place of proper bands. Train yourself to useful occupation. Remember it is wicked to waste time; and nothing gives such an impression of vanity and absolute silliness as a habit of idling and never having anything to do. If you are in your father's house, take some department of household labor upon yourself, and a part of the needlework, and make it your business to attend to it. Do not let a call from this idle girl, or a visit from that, or an invitation from the other, interfere with the performance of your duty. Let your pleasures come in as recreations, not as the business of your life. If you want to marry, do not court or try to attract the attention of gentlemen. It is better to be a woman than a wife; and do not degrade your sex by making your whole existence turn on the pivot of matrimony.

STOP EATING SLATE PENCILS.

This is only six ounces in the pound. Two feet to the yard. Let me add a word. Cultivate brains more than beauty. Accept no compliments on dress, but improve your intellect. Read the papers on both sides, and ask your male friends questions on national affairs. They will receive a new sensation to discover you are a girl of brains. They will give their sugar plums to somebody else. They will carry their gossip to another market. Be self-reliant. Don't look under the bed and into the closet before you retire. Walk much in the open air. Men will tell the same story to your rival. They are parrots. Their stock of ammunition is very scant. You can floor most men by showing that you have a particle of brain. Throw the stupid novel you are reading into the fire. Don't chew slate pencils and eat chalk. When you marry, marry a *man*, instead of a carriage and horses. When you have babies, nurse them yourself instead of introducing scrofula and other diseases into your race through some corrupt wet-nurse. Never poison your babe with vaccination, nor your own system by drugs. Be your own doctor, and learn enough of housekeeping to teach your servants. Consider yourself insulted when anyone calls you *weak*-minded. When a gentleman gives you his seat, *thank* him for it. Long dresses, draggling in the mud, will mark your habits and character. Don't be afraid to talk on politics and religion. Show womanhood in all you do. Tell your boys and girls all about themselves, so that they may not find out at school what none but the mother should make known to them. *These* points, you see, have gone past the school girl to the mother of the scholars.

George Francis Train.

FEMALE BIOGRAPHY.

Boadicea was a British heroine, the widow of Prasutagus, and Queen of the Iceni, (*i.e.* the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, England). Having been basely treated by the Romans, she raised the Britons in arms against them, and obtained several victories, but was at length utterly defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61, and died of grief or by poison.

Mary Anne le Page du Boccage was a French poetess of considerable merit, and possessed of great accomplishments and benevolence; was born at Rouen, in 1710, and died in 1802. Her principal works are, an imitation of Paradise Lost; the Columbiad, an epic poem especially attractive to Americans; and the Amazons, a tragedy in which the rights of women are forcibly expressed.

Frances Brooke was a lady of great abilities, whose maiden name was Moore, and whose father was a clergyman. The time of her birth is uncertain; she died in 1789. Her first literary production was a periodical work called "The Old Maid," which came out in 1755 and 1756. She wrote the tragedies of Virginia and the Siege of Sempe; the musical dramas of Rosina and Marian, the novels of Lady Julia Mandeville, Emily Montague, the Excursion, and the Memoirs of the Marquis de St. Forlaix; and translated Lady Catesby's letters, and Millot's History of England. Mrs. Brooke was a firm believer in the ultimate high destiny of woman.

Laura Maria Catherine Bassi (by Marriage Veratti), a learned Italian lady, was born at Bologna in 1711, and her talents were carefully cultivated by education. At the age of twenty-one, she publicly sustained a philosophical thesis, and received a Doctor's degree. The Senate of her native place conferred on her the professional chair of Philosophy, and she continued to teach till her decease, in 1778. She was well versed in Greek, Metaphysics, Geometry, Algebra, and Natural Philosophy; is said to have written an epic poem on the Italian wars, and was an unaffected, amiable and virtuous women.

Bona or Bonna, a shepherdess of the Valteline, was first the mistress and subsequently the wife of Peter Brunoro, an Italian warrior. She gave numerous proofs of heroic courage. In the wars of the Venetians she greatly distinguished herself, particularly in taking by assault the castle of Pavona. She assisted her husband in defending Negropont, and, after his death, expelled the Turks from the Island. She died in 1463.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 24, 1868.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

We object to the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States securing "Manhood Suffrage," for several reasons.

1st, Because a government based on the caste and class principle, on the inequality of its citizens, cannot stand. This experiment has been often and fully tried. It matters not whether under a despotism a monarchy, or a republic, whether based on family, nobility, wealth, education, color or sex, it must prove a failure in the future as it has uniformly in the past. There is only one safe, sure way to build a government, and that is on the equality of all its citizens, male and female, black and white. The aristocratic idea in any form is opposed to the genius of our institutions and the civilization of the age. Of all kinds of aristocracy, that of sex is the most odious and unnatural, invading as it does our homes, desecrating our family alters, dividing those whom God has joined together, exalting the son above the mother who bore him, and subjugating everywhere moral power to brute force. A government like this would not be worth all the blood and treasure this nation so freely poured out in the last Revolution.

2d, We object to a "man's government," because the male element, already too much in the ascendant, is a destructive force; stern, selfish, aggrandizing; loving war, violence, conquest, acquisition; breeding discord, disorder, disease and death.

See what a record of blood and cruelty the pages of history reveal, through what slavery, slaughter and sacrifice, through what inquisitions and imprisonments, pains and persecutions, black codes and gloomy creeds, the soul of humanity has struggled for the centuries, while mercy has veiled her face, and all hearts have been dead alike to love and hope. Thus has the masculine element overpowered the feminine, crushing out all the diviner elements of human nature.

Mid violence and disturbance in the natural world, we see a constant effort to maintain an equilibrium of forces. Nature, like a loving mother, is ever trying to keep the land and sea, mountain and valley, each in their place, to hush the angry waves and winds, balance the extremes of heat and cold, of rain and drought, that harmony and beauty may reign supreme. There is ever a striking analogy in the world of matter and mind, and the present disorganization of our social state warns us that in the dethronement of woman we have let loose the elements of violence and ruin, that she, only, has power to curb.

What can we gain as a nation by "Manhood Suffrage," having too much of the man power in government already? If the civilization of the age calls for an extension of the suffrage, a government of the most virtuous, educated men and women would better represent the whole humanitarian idea, and more perfectly protect the interests of all, than could a representation of either sex alone. But to ignore the influence of woman in the legislation of the country, and blindly insist upon the recognition of every type of brutalized, degraded manhood, must prove suicidal to any government on the footstool, hence we protest against the extension of suffrage to another man, until enough women are first admitted to the polls to outweigh the dangerous excess of the male element already there.

So long as there is a disfranchised class, and that class the women of the nation, "a man's government" is worse than "a white man's government," because in proportion as you multiply the tyrants, you make the condition of the subjects more hopeless and degraded. John Stuart Mill, in his work on Liberty, shows clearly that the condition of one disfranchised man in a nation is worse than that of a whole nation under one man, because in the latter case, if the one man is despotic, the nation can easily throw him off, but what can the one man do with a nation of tyrants over him.

Just so if woman finds it hard to bear the oppressive laws of a few Saxon Fathers, of the best orders of manhood, what may she not be called to endure when all the lower orders, natives and foreigners, Dutch, Irish, Chinese and African, legislate for her and her daughters?"

This "Manhood Suffrage" is an appalling question, and it would be well for thinking women, who seem to consider it so magnanimous to hold their own claims in abeyance until all men are crowned with citizenship, to remember, that the lowest classes of men are invariably the most hostile to the elevation of woman as they have known her only in ignorance and degradation and ever regarded her in the light of a slave.

3d, We object to the proposed amendment because it is an open, deliberate insult to the women of the nation. Now, when the attention of the whole world is turned to this question, when the women of France, England, Switzerland and even Russia are holding their conventions, and demanding enfranchisement, and their rulers everywhere giving them a respectful hearing, shall the women of "the freest government on the earth" be set aside in this way without notice or apology! While poets and philosophers, statesmen and men of science are all alike pointing to woman as the new hope for the redemption of the world, shall American Senators, claiming to be liberal, laugh at and suppress our petitions, and boast in our conventions of their courage to vote Woman's Suffrage down in the Capitol, and thus degrade their own mothers, wives and daughters, in their political status, below unwashed and unlettered ditch-diggers, boot-blacks, hostlers, butchers, and barbers.

Think of Patrick and Sambo and Hans and Yung Tung who do not know the difference between a Monarchy and a Republic, who never read the Declaration of Independence or Webster's spelling book, making laws for Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott, or Fanny Kemble. Think of jurors drawn from these ranks to try young girls for the crime of infanticide.

Would these gentlemen who, on all sides, are telling us "to wait until the negro is safe" be willing to stand aside and trust all *their* interests in hands like these?

The educated women of this nation feel as much interest in republican institutions, in the preservation of the country and the good of mankind as Senators Wilson and Sumner, and are as sure that the highest good of all alike demands the elevation and enfranchisement of woman, as the Honorable gentlemen are that everything is safe in *their* hands.

4th, We object to the proposed amendment because the history of American Statesmanship, for the last century, does not inspire us with confidence in man's capacity to govern a nation with equity, and we came to this conclusion from what wise men themselves say of our rulers, and of the condition in which the country is today.

The most casual observer can see the same causes at work here that have already impoverished the masses in the old world. With legislation practically in the hands of a few Capitalists who have the power to buy up all the votes they need for a given measure, who regulate the banks, national debt, taxes, rates of interest, who own the railroads and dispose of the public lands, holding every position of profit and honor, the rich will perpetuate their own power and protect their own interests, while the many will be reduced to squalid poverty and utter dependence. All kinds of property are rapidly accumulating in the hands of the few, and already we see bloated wealth and gaunt poverty stalking side by side in New York as well as London.

We do not regard politics as a succession of tricks; and government as a skillful piece of legerdemain, but as a fixed science, controlled by laws as immutable as those that govern the planetary world. Hence, while we deplore the sad facts of life as they present themselves, we do not blame the rich for their lack of charity and benevolence, nor the poor for their idleness and want of thrift; nor do we make Providence the scape-goat for the terrible muddle in our mundane affairs. We simply rest in the knowledge that those who are managing the ship of state do not understand their business; but as the people are fast learning the ropes, and how to use the chart and compass, they will man the ship themselves in good time, and do their own reckoning. Then we shall have wise laws that will secure equal rights to all.

5th, We object to "manhood suffrage," because it is opposed to all the recent revelations of science. All late writers on the science of government recognize in woman the great humanizing element of the new era we are now entering, in which moral power is to govern brute force. It is only through the infusion of the mother soul into our legislation, that life will be held sacred, the interests of the many guarded, capital reconciled to labor, the criminal treated like a moral patient, education made practical and attractive, and labor profitable and honorable to all. The distinguished historian, Henry Thomas Buckle, says, "The turn of thought of women, their habits of mind, their conversation, insensibly extending over the whole surface of society, and frequently penetrating its most intimate structure, have, more than all other things put together, tended to raise us into an ideal world and lift us from the dust into which we are too prone to grovel." We ask that this influence be now directed towards the humanizing of our legislation.

6th, We object to the proposed amendment, because it raises a more deadly opposition to the negro than any he has yet encountered. It creates an antagonism between him and woman, the very element most needed to be propitiated in his behalf. Suffrage for all could easily be carried in every state; but when you propose to lift the negro above the woman, and make him her Ruler, Legislator, Judge and

Juror, if even northern women rebel, what can you expect at the south? The "negro element" at the south, of which we hear so much, may make voters for the republican party, but it does not give us what we need in government. The people are concerned about deeper principles than such as serve the shifting purposes of politicians.

We hear much high-sounding talk about "saving the country," but what is a country to the women who have no voice in the laws that govern them? What is a country to the suffering masses; the denizens of garrets, and cellars, and mud cabins, on the lonely prairies, so long as all the fruit of their industry is stolen by their rulers. E. C. S.

HOUSEWORK.

Every year adds to the difficulty of hiring good housekeeping. Perhaps it is not a marketable commodity. At any rate, in the large cities it is at a higher premium than gold. There is a reason for this somewhere. Good cooks are as few and far between as were righteous men in Sodom. Wendell Phillips might add good cookery to his list of Lost Arts. Most families in the cities do not even know what good cooking is. A loaf of *good* bread is almost as much a miracle as were the five thousand we read of produced in the Judean desert. Cooking should be reckoned a Fine Art, and taught as are music and painting. Instead of being entrusted to the worst conditioned, and worst taught in the community, it should at least be superintended by the most refined, the best cultivated. Every man and every woman should consider the human body as infinitely higher in the scale of existence than a statue. All should be artists to produce a form and figure as divine as the statue of Pygmalion, making the myth in some sense true. Food must have much to do with it. The instinct of brutes is better to them than is the wisdom of man to him. He is badly born, badly nursed, and it is bad with him ever. So with woman. We talk of beautiful women, but not of beautiful men. Why not? But there are not many beautiful women, even. Health is essential to beauty. Women generally have no health. It is even fashionable to be delicate. It is said that Bonaparte declared if a soldier is not depraved, it is the business of war to make him so. If woman is not frail, drooping, sickly, what is fashion for but to make her so? We don't know health, beauty, or cookery. The latter has all to do with the two former, that culture and skill have with the artist in producing beautiful statues. Ambrosia need not be fabulous. It should be the food of men as well as gods. If what we eat do not give us immortal life, it surely should not be mortal death to us. Hired housekeeping is now an abomination. Perhaps it must be, to teach us the better way. It is all wrong from the foundation. There is talk of the "eight hour system" as an amelioration of labor. What will become of families and house-work, when women adopt it?

But the purpose intended when we began is almost forgotten. It was only to introduce some sensible suggestions on the general subject of *housework*, from the Jamestown (N. Y.) *Journal*, as follows:

There are two minor reasons why *intelligent* women dislike domestic labor. One is because they are so often made the victims of —not the ill usage—but the whims of incompetent mistresses—"ladies" who don't know what good housework is and have all the more conceit and impracticable ideas on that account. The less a person knows the more he or she assumes. There are more incompetent mistresses than incompetent servants—if it were not so, the demand for "some one to do the housework" would not be so great. Another philosophical reason is, that women hate to be dictated to *by women*, especially by a woman who knows less about the work than one she directs and only has the advantage of the servant in that she is "settled in life" with a husband who can afford to hire help for her—a point of very little merit in the servant's eyes.

In our opinion the plain fact of the case is, that housework is avoided *because of its severity*. It is the hardest muscular exertion a woman has to do. We do not mean that it is the most exhausting nor that it soonest wears a woman out—but that it has more duties that call for a great outlay of strength. It is reduced to a simple question of *muscle*, in our opinion. There is about as much human nature in a woman as in a man, and either one of them will select the easiest life possible. While a large class shun the severe labor of housework and prefer lighter, but less profitable and more confining work; there is a large class that actually *cannot* do housework—they have not the necessary physical power and endurance. So that work is left to the more robust and more muscular Celt, German or Swede. Our American girls, as a class, are physically *incompetent* for housework. We know this is not a popular theory. It is not so fine spun and philosophical as the "social ostracism" idea; but it is plainer and more reasonable.

Men of loose observation will be apt to scout the idea of housework being hard. They generally do—but it is on the same principle that the Indian found it easy work to sit on the fence and watch a white man mowing. When some man has done housework a few weeks, with all the crude, unimproved and inconvenient appliances of the business as at present developed, he may make an intelligent estimate of the amount of muscle it requires.

WOMEN AS JURORS.

The N. Y. *Express* doubts whether women would be more lenient to their sex, detected in Infanticides or kindred immoralities than men. It says: "The right of jury duty, which most men regard as great a trial as do plaintiffs and defendants before them, is one of these privileges or rights. Miss Anthony would have women tried by women, and this has been a complaint in the case of Hester Vaughan,—but those who think that women are more lenient than men to the foibles or offences of their sex, greatly mistake all that is taught in the school of experience. Would a jury of women show more favor to the woman accused of slaying her infant to conceal her departure from virtue, than they would have shown to her if detected in the latter transgression?

"And speaking of Infanticide, the *Express* adds, there is but one way to rid the world of its accumulating horrors. Remove the conditions and the temptations from which they grow. So long as women becoming mothers outside of a conventional pale are to see before them social proscription, deadly and inexorable for the rest of their lives, some driven by dispair will kill themselves, and others by terror will kill their infants. So long, too, as there are social conditions of such a nature as to cause the birth of children, even in wedlock, to be regarded as an infelicitous event, some of those who take this view of family enlargement, will, depend upon it, in order to keep within proper limitations, resort to bad practices. Parker Pillsbury when he said that 'wives, with husbands consenting, were continually guilty of the crime' of infanticide, was not much in the wrong, speaking of the highly civilized people among whom he lives. Gen. Butler states, upon statistical data, that the charity of Massachusetts kills more than one-half both of the children and adults taken under its protection."

Massachusetts is bad enough, but as to the crime of infanticide not worse than the states adjoining her on every hand. Dr. Oaks of Androscoggin county, Me., testified, scarcely a year ago, in a medical convention, that according to the best estimate he could make, there were four hundred child murders in that single county every year. Nor is it a populous county by any means. Nor probably is it any worse than the country will average. It is an awful fountain that sends forth such streams; a terrible tree that bears such fruit.

WOMEN AND DRESS.

Under this head, the London *Saturday Review* has some suggestions that will apply as well to one side of the Atlantic as the other. It first considers the common notion that "Women dress to please men." As a diagnosis of the original physiology of woman's love of ornaments, or as an evolution of the first elementary principle whence sprang that habit of self-adornment which is now congential in woman, this apophthegm, though inadequate, no doubt partly expresses the truth. But as an explanation of the causes of the modern extravagance of dress-worship in woman, it is not merely inadequate, but positively untrue. Whatever may be the case in a savage community, it is certain that, as English society is at present constituted, women do not "dress to please men," but to please, or rather to escape the persecutions of their own sex. Fear of woman, and not love of man, is the feeling which makes them submit to the tyranny of the fashions. Woman is, in this respect, her own enslaver. If any woman doubts this, let her ask herself whether, when she dresses for a dinner party, it is the attention bestowed by the host, or that bestowed by the hostess on her toilette, that gives her the most concern. Is it the criticism of the men, or that of the women, that she most courts and fears? Is it before or after dinner that justice is done to her dress? The truth is that the nine men out of ten who tell us that "women dress to please men" never criticise women's dress at all. If a woman is very eccentrically or very unbecomingly dressed, most of them have a vague, general impression of someting wrong; but not one in a hundred really criticises the dress of his hostess or of the women between whom he finds himself at the dinner table. Fear of each other is, then, the principal sentiment which ties women down to the slavery of dress-worship.

Women are not naturally, perhaps, more vain than men, but they have more opportunities and more temptations for the indulgence of vanity than men have. The wealth of the nation has increased at a more rapid rate than its civilization. Our riches have outgrown our culture, and in nothing is this more palpably evident than in the present position of the women of our wealthy middde-class. The growth of commercial wealth, and the transfer of industrial processes, such as spinning, from the parlor to the factory, have enormously multiplied the number of those unfortunate women who have "got no work to do." Idleness, ignorance, want of culture, and of thorough mental training, want of intellectual resource, want of all real discipline, combining with the natural tendencies mentioned above, produce, among other results, that senseless worship of the fashions which is sanctioned by the selfish apathy or cynical indifference of men, and is perpetually stimulated by the arts of the decorater and clothesmonger. The evil is really getting great, both from an artistic and an economical point

of view. Artistically, the blind adoption by all women, short and tall, dark and fair, lean and stout, plain and handsome, of one momentarily prevalent fashion, and consequent lack of individuality, and of the study of the becoming in dress and ornamentation, are much to be deplored. And, economically, the extravagance and useless waste which this kaleidoscopic system of dressing occasions, is a gigantic evil, destroying not only taste, but sobriety and decorum, and in many instances even virtue.

THE BALLOT FOR WOMEN.

The Boston *Investigator*, a paper that believes in justice and right without reference to other worlds or states of being, any more than the ancient Sadducees, but which seems to espouse every liberal idea as by instinct, or intuition, has spoken well on the right of woman to the ballot, and promises even better. Under the head of "The Ballot for Woman," it said last week: "This political movement is attracting unusual attention at the present day, and bids fair to become, before many years, a complete success. In the meantime, however (though not so much as at first), it must continue to run the gauntlet, as it were, of ridicule, prejudice, and other kinds of opposition, until the measure becomes popular; and then, when it is generally acknowledged and adopted, people will look back and wonder why it was ever opposed. This, in brief, is the history of every innovation, whether in regard to politics, religion, science, or art. Democracy, at the start, had its enemies; so had liberality in theology; so had the teachings of geology, astronomy, and other sciences; and so had many inventions in the arts. When Robert Fulton and John Fitch conceived the idea (within the remembrance of some now living) of steamboats traversing our waters, they were laughed at as visionary and impracticable men, fit only for a lunatic asylum. It will be thus with the movement of allowing women the ballot, because the measure is self-evidently right and lies at the very foundation of our democratic government. The principle involved is the same as that which inaugurated and made practical the American idea of Constitutional liberty, and brought on the Revolution in its defence.

Sorry Logic.—The San Francisco *Times*, daring to announce an opinion on the subject of Suffrage for Woman, expresses it thus:

> Had the movement lately set on foot for the amelioration of the condition of women been directed rather to the redressal of woman's wrongs than to the aggressive assertion of her rights, it would have become more popular than it is. * * * * *
>
> The mention of wrong to be redressed awakens the sympathy of every true man; but the mention of right to be conferred rouses his aggressiveness, his self-interest, and all the most selfish feelings of his nature.

The movement is already "popular" enough, for that matter; but if woman have wrongs to be redressed, it is because man is guilty of those wrongs; and if to tell him so, rouses his wrath, that only shows more clearly that it should be done, for his own sake. Repentance and reformation are *his* duty; not grudgingly bestowing favors on cringing suppliants, whose God-given rights he has taken away by fraud and force. The *Times* would make woman confess that she has no *rig ts* to begin with, and then beg as favors what she may, or may not, receive, at the hands of her lord and master, according to his good will and pleasure.

SOME POSERS.

The Providence (R. I.) *Journal* owned and very ably conducted by U. S. Senator Anthony, one day last week contained a letter relating to the recent Woman's Suffrage Convention in that state, criticising the views of the Providence *Herald*, a democratic sheet, on the right of suffrage. The questions which close the communication, are adapted to the meridian of whatever party or person opposes the extention of suffrage to every intelligent and loyal citizen:

To the Editor of the Journal:

The *Herald* on Saturday in an editorial on the Woman Suffrage Convention held in Providence on Friday, says: "In the morning session, whatever there was in sense and argument, was uttered by two women and Fred. Douglass." It also says that, on the whole, the convention was "a success," and adds, "The disagreeable episodes inseparable from every such convention, were caused exclusively by the men, while it owed all its usefulness to the grace and intelligence of the women." A success unmarred, save by the conduct of the men—the women bringing "grace and intelligence," "sense and argument,"—Fred. Douglass the only gentleman who shared with these women the utterance of that "sense and argument;" this is the judgment of the *Herald*, although the tone of the editorial is unfavorable to Woman Suffrage. Women and a negro, representatives of the two classes disfranchised and inferior before the law of America, are those who made the convention "a success." The *Herald* seems to regard Col. Higginson's speech a failure. Howard Malcom's address is considered superficial by the same profound authority. Stephen S. Foster was "rude," and "inconclusive," "annoyant," according to the *Herald's* new dictionary, and "illogical."

It now occurs to us to ask whether these "thinking and conscientious" women are not as well qualified to vote as these men who, in the *Herald's* opinion, distinguished themselves by eminent failures and follies? Further, we would ask the *Herald* why the democratic party opposes the enfranchisement of such men as Fred. Douglass, who, of all the male speakers of the convention, in its judgment, alone uttered "sense and argument?" Would the *Herald* confine the privileges of the ballot-box to the "rude" and "illogical."

L. B. C.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Providence (R. I.) *Journal* has an article from the pen of Sarah Helen Whitman, the well known Rhode Island poet, from which the following are extracts:

The world moves. A very successful convention of the friends of Woman's Suffrage has recently been held in Boston, unenlivened by any of those noisy and boisterous demonstrations from the opposition which attended their meetings in former years.

A writer in the Springfield *Republican* says, that "the only drawback to the success of the Boston convention was that everybody was too friendly. The argument was too clearly all on one side. Mr. Dana tried his hand at an argument against the cause last winter, but, though a good reasoner, he could make nothing of it; there is nothing to be urged against it but the right of the strongest."

We look back on some of the early gatherings of the friends of Woman's Rights in New York city. When the Rev. Antoinette Brown was hustled off the platform, when Marshal Rynders and his myrmidons were on the war-path, and the New York rowdies broke up the meetings in "admired disorder." In those palmy days of persecution, the illustrated magazines and newspapers, from *Harper's Monthly* to the *Yankee Doodle*, teemed with caricatures of oppressed and down-trodden husbands, hectored and domineered over by strong-minded women in spectacles. But these things are of the past. The palmy days of persecution—the days of rude resistance and flippant ridicule—are at an end. The man of the nineteenth century seems ready to resign himself passively to the current of events; content to say, with the court of Louis XV., "*Apres nous le deluge.*"

The wrongs of women are, to-day, too patent, their rights too palpable, to be longer met by outworn platitudes and vapid sentimentalities about the "home duties," and "the heaven-appointed sphere" of the "true woman." No true man to-day so ventures to meet them.

At the last meeting of the "Radical Club" in Boston, Mr. Emerson is reported to have said, "that it was for woman to decide what her political status should be: that once he believed the practical advocacy of universal suffrage would find no support from tender and superior women, but that now those who most shrunk from a painful duty, were at the same time most eager to perform it, and look forward to its consummation as a moment to be seriously hailed."

John Neal of Portland writes to the committee of the Woman's Suffrage Convention in Boston: "Insist, I pray you, upon the same code of morals for men as for women. Insist upon the right of suffrage for women, and you will have it conceded just in proportion to your strength; and with it pay will come for your labor according to its worth; and such consideration as you will find ten thousand times more desirable than all the hypocritical deference and courtesy, now accorded you."

Everywhere the question of woman's enfranchisement is pressing itself more and more urgently upon all earnest and conscientious thinkers of either sex. The writer of an article in *Harper's Magazine* for December, entitled "English Photographs by an American," says: "more real progress in what is called the Woman's Rights movement has been made in England than in America, although the agitation commenced in the United States. The women of England take a more active interest in the elections than the women of any other nation. That their influence is feared is evident from the readiness of politicians to declare in favor of Woman Suffrage."

If, however, as the writer intimates, he still finds a large proportion of the English women of his acquaintance indifferent to the subject, we might reply that these ladies of England "who live at home, at ease," know probably as much about the wrongs and sufferings of the great body of English women—the English women of the lower classes—as did Marie Antoinette of the wants of the *poissardes* of Paris when she expressed her astonishment at their clamor for bread while "such nice rolls could be bought for two *sous* apiece."

Whatever indifference ignorant and inert women may feel to the right of suffrage,—however distant may be the benefits likely to accrue from the exercise of the right, there can be little question among all candid thinkers that it must, eventually, add to their intellectual elevation as well as to their material welfare and prosperity.

Startling Revelations.—It is not likely the grocers and butchers are any more depraved than other trades and business men in this city. But the monstrous revelations now making in the New York *World* as to the dishonesty practiced in Weights and Measures, and the diabolisms in adulterations and poisonings, should drive sleep from every eye and appetite from every stomach, until in some way the evil is abated. The *World* is earning the gratitude of every honest man and woman by these astounding disclosures.

"Warrington."—Wm. S. Robinson, Esq., the Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, with the above *nomme de plume*, a most estimable man as well as writer for the press, was captured the other day in Boston with his wife and daughter, and compelled into the acceptance of a valuable marble mantel clock, two gold (and one silver) watches, a thousand dollar Government Bond, with a whole envelope full of Greenbacks beside; and all for no crime or offence that he, or anybody else knows of, but his having dared to live to the age of fifty years. Served him right.

P. P.

Merry Christmas to the Poor.—We see that our esteemed friend Mr. Brace is invoking the aid of the whole Pantheon of Santa Clauses in behalf of his proteges, the poor children, the boys and girls of the city. He earnestly begs the public not to omit them in their holiday bounties, to which every generous soul will respond Amen. A Christmas dinner must be doubly delicious to any family that is conscious of having helped another, a destitute one to a

similar enjoyment. Mr. Brace has a great and hungry household on his hands, numbering thousands, and he must not be forgotten.

EIGHT HOURS A DAY.

THE Philadelphia *Daily News* considered this question at length one day last week; and many of its views, though too agrarian probably for capitalists to relish, were yet so just that we transfer a part to our own columns:

Why is it that free citizens of a great republic are compelled to toil for a greater number of hours than may be justly required of them?

The laws do not compel any one to work a longer time than may be acceptable to him; but when a man is without means to subsist upon, his wants compel him to work, and he must ask employment as a favor from some one who has the *property* required to carry on some kind of productive work. In plain language, *property is a tyrant, and the people are its slaves.* The name of freedom is a mockery where the smallest exercise of independence deprives a man of his bread. Property is not merely a tyrant, but it is a debauchee and barbarian. It prostitutes the people, it demoralizes them, and it deprives them of every manly virtue, and every desire to be honest and worthy. It enriches crafty knaves, and impoverishes worthy members of society. It makes autocrats of political demagogues, of religious hypocrites and venders of quack medicines, while it consigns to obscurity the most useful men in the community. Property is a despot, and it tells men that they must work ten, twelve, or sixteen hours a day, and the penalty for resistance to its orders is starvation.

Why is property stronger than the people? Simply because it commands the services of the crafty, the cunning, and unscrupulous, who defeat every effort on the part of the producers of wealth to secure an honest share of the profit of their labor.

Property is a cold, cruel, heartless tyrant, and its arrogance, or that of those who control it, should be resisted by every honest man. But how can the people oppose its power? Most of the property of the country is owned by a twentieth part of the voters of our republic; the nineteen could easily out-vote the one; but property has all the political machinery in its hands, and it has all the political managers in its pay.

The people have no means of communication by which they can discuss and prepare measures calculated to secure their freedom from the shackles which property has placed in their hands. The newspapers are nearly all owned or supported by property holders, and their teachings are all designed to keep the minds of the people occupied with party and sectional questions, which will prevent their thinking of the unfavorable condition in which they are placed. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of associations composed of workingmen in this country, but not one intended for deliberate and mature consideration of the evils under which they work; nor is there one newspaper supported by them which honestly and intelligently discusses and advocates practical measures of reform calculated to promote their welfare.

VOICES FROM THE FAR WEST.

"THE REVOLUTION" like a rainbow spans the Continent. It has more subscribers in California than in almost any other state, but it is well known all the way between the two oceans. The St. Paul *Dispatch* comes down upon it and its mission, all the way from the upper waters of the Mississippi in salutation and baptism like this:

"THE REVOLUTION," Miss Anthony's paper in New York, has actually created an active Woman Suffrage movement in that metropolis. The idea is certainly gaining ground apart from false issues which certain politicians and journals connect with it. The New York Evening *Post* gives it an honest support, and the *Independent* and *Anti-Slavery Standard* are also favorable to it. Mrs. E. C. Stanton is chief editor of "THE REVOLUTION." It is the aim of the ladies to do more than arouse an interest in female suffrage, and one great result of their efforts is seen in ameliorative and protective movements bearing on woman's work and wages. The Working Woman's Association has arisen, with a large and increasing membership. Its primary objects are to enable women to protect each other, open new employments for the sex, secure justice in the matter of pay and plan ways to make women industrially independent. It has, however, for one of its planks, the Woman Suffrage movement, and refuses to eliminate it at the solicitation of any one.

The Working Women's Protective Union is another form which the movement for the elevation of woman has taken. Its objects are similar to those we have stated above as belonging to the Association.

It is the general conviction that woman's advancement has fairly begun, politically and industrially; and none but the mean and narrow-minded will wish to see her fail. Let her be prudent and persevering, and that day of rational liberty and political influence which may be her due, will not be long in coming.

A WESTERN JUDGE ON HESTER VAUGHAN.

SOUTHERN HOTEL, St. Louis, Mo.,
December 1th, 1868.

MISS ANTHONY: The heart of the writer has been deeply moved by the plea for mercy, at Cooper Institute, on behalf of Hester Vaughan.

Please accept the enclosed small sum of money, in furtherance of your benovolent purposes towards that unfortunate young woman, from a Judge who has tried numerous cases of murder, and who, if Hester Vaughan had been tried before him, would have required, at least, as a prerequisite to conviction, that it should have been proved, beyond doubt, that the infant alleged to have been killed had breathed the breath of a living human creature, or, in other words, that life had once existed in the subject of the alleged infanticide.

No language can adequately express the execration and contempt due to one who could so dishonor the legal profession as to receive from a poor, friendless woman, in a strange land, her last dollar, and then, in the hour of her direst need, abandon her to conviction, despair and death.

May the choicest blessings of a kind Providence attend that good woman, Mrs. Doctor Smith of Philadelphia, and her noble coadjutors of New York. May their example of philanthropy and mercy vivify the pure and noble sympathies of our countrywomen everywhere, whose fault is rather that they are thoughtless than inhuman.

In the exalted sphere in which Heaven intended woman should move, how priceless a blessing is she to the world—how bright a pearl in the diadem of christianity! In the light of civilization and humanity, we behold, every day, more and more in her character to command our admiration, our homage and our love, and to fill our hearts with gratitude to God that He has blessed the earth with her benign presence.

That the Governor of Pennsylvania may promptly respond to your human appeal, by a cordial dispensation of Executive clemency, and thus honor his own name, is the sincere prayer of JUSTICE.

THE town of Rutland, the largest commercial town in Vermont, where the conveyances of real estate are, to say the least, five times more in number than in any other in the state, the business of keeping the records and looking up titles has been done for years by a woman, and perhaps there is no more competent clerk in New England. Miss Brown, since the death of Gen. Brown, her father, and for years before, has, we are told, done nearly the entire business of town clerk, and in a most satisfactory manner.

ANNUALS AND JOURNALS FOR 1869.—It must be a singular taste that cannot be gratified at Messrs. Francis and Loutrell's, 45 Maiden Lane, in pocket and all sizes of memorandum-books, diaries and journals; note and blank-books of every description, stationery, pens, pencils, inks, in all their endless variety, and whatever pertains to a first-class wholesale and retail establishment like theirs.

THE WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION. — A large meeting of the Working Women was held in room 18, Cooper Institute, the 21st inst. Several interesting reports were made; those of Mrs. S. F. Norton and Garafalia Clifton, on the rag-pickers, we shall try and find room for next week.

The next regular meeting will be held in the same room, No 18, Cooper Institute, Friday evening, January 8th, 1869, at 9 o'clock.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MISSOURI.—The Woman's Suffrage Association of St. Louis is actively soliciting signatures to memorials to Congress and to the State Legislature, praying for the privilege of voting. The memorial to Congress is signed by over 2,000 and is to be forwarded to-day. The Association holds its meetings weekly, and great interest is manifested in the proceedings.

JUSTICE TO WOMAN.—The Massachusetts working men's platform of principles consists of sixteen planks; the first and seventh are, "equal and uniform suffrage and representation throughout the republic;" and "the right of women to equal wages with men."

A YOUNG woman has been admitted as a student to the Law School of Washington University, St. Louis, by unanimous vote of the faculty. It was a medical college in that same city which opened its doors to Miss Harriet Hosmer for the study of anatomy, so essential to success in her chosen profession, when all others were closed against her.

A WOMAN has been admitted to practice law at the bar of Illinois. Another woman is editor of the Chicago *Legal News*, and conducts it with an ability which is an honor to American journalism.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.—The letter from Manchester this week will repay an attentive reading.

Two young women are members of the Agricultural College of Iowa.

MRS. A. ST. JOHN, of Rochester, says that during the past ten years she has made more than 3,500 vests with her Wheeler & Wilson's machine, besides doing her family sewing, and that she has made over 1,200 vests with the needle now in use.

ELIZABETH BLACKWELL was a woman of considerable talent, who, to provide subsistence for her husband, who was in prison for debt, published in two volumes folio, 1737 and 1739, an Herbal, containing five hundred plates, drawn, engraved, and colored *by herself.* Her husband Alexander, was born at Aberdeen, brought up as a physician, and went to Sweden about 1740, where he was beheaded on a charge of being concerned in Count Tessins plot. His brother was a writer of ability. Are our American Blackwells descended from this family?

LITERARY.

THREE VOICES. By Warren Sumner Barlow. Dedicated to those who have ears to hear the voices.

Of which there may not be a multitude. "He that hath ears *to hear*, let him hear" was most discriminatingly spoken. All may *have* ears, but not for the same purpose. A man, with little reason to be proud of his nose, used to apologize by saying it was given him not so much for ornament as for use. So of ears, some have them to hear with, but not all. Mr. Barlow's poetry will have to wrestle with the faith of the saints, and the fastidiousness of the scholars. The former will denounce his sentiments as heathenish, or infidel; the latter will insist that lines with capitals at one end and rhyme at the other, are not always poetry; an opinion in which this editor, though no scholar, critic, and still less, poet, is compelled to agree. The Hebrew prophets, themselves, were sometimes a little rude in their rythm and rhetoric, but a marshalling of them into platoons like these, is a questionable imprisonment:

"Think of the vultures plucking out their eyes!
While roaring lions rend the weeping skies!
O, what a combination in the growls
Of all the beasts, with screams of all the fowls!"

And he might have added, in lawful rhyme,

A base accompaniment, hooted by the owls!

Tall lions those, to prey on skies; and most bloody cruel, too, to devour "weeping skies."

After all, the book has real value. But the author would have done better if he had footed it in prose. Mounted on the horseback of verse he attracts a class of critics that would otherwise have let him pass. It has real ability, and is radical in the extreme, and that is beginning to be regarded as real merit. The writer is an Iconoclast of the boldest and most intrepid description, and will waken thought in some, as well as stir the wrath, or rouse the fears and apprehensions of others. The three voices are, the Voice of Superstition, the Voice of Nature, and the Voice of a Pebble. The purpose is to correct what the author considers the false Theology of the times. The book contains nearly 200 pages, and is most elegantly produced by White & Co. 158 Washington street, Boston, and 544 Broadway, New York.

THE PRESENT AGE AND INNER LIFE; Ancient and Modern Spirit Mysteries classified and explained; A Sequel to Spiritual Intercourse. Revised and enlarged. By Andrew Jackson Davis. Illustrated with engravings. Boston: Wm. White & Co., *Banner of Light* office, 138 Washington street. New York: 544 Broadway.

Here is a volume of 425 pages, got up in the handsome style of the Messrs. White & Co., and, to Spiritualists, or those wishing to investigate the wondrous principles and phenomena illustrated in the faith and philosophy of that rapidly-increasing church, it must prove an invaluable treasure. The author is well and widely known, both as author and minister in the Spiritual connection, but the publishers announce that of all his various and numerous works, this is without doubt the most complete in treating of the laws and conditions of Mediumship; being thoroughly devoted to a consideration and elucidation of the facts and principles of Spiritualism, ancient and modern. An elegant frontispiece likeness of the author adds to the value of the book.

THE National Temperance Society has lately published the two following books:

PHILIP ECKERT'S STRUGGLES AND TRIUMPHS. 18mo, 216 pages.

An interesting narrative of a noble, manly boy, in an intemperate home, fighting with the wrong and battling for the right; should be read by every child in the land. Price, 60 cents.

THE BROKEN ROCK. 18mo, 139 pages.

It beautifully illustrates the silent and holy influence of a meek and lowly spirit upon the heartless rumseller, until the rocky heart is broken. Price, 50 cents. J. N. Stearns, publishing agent, 172 William street.

FALLEN PRIDE; OR, THE MOUNTAIN GIRL'S LOVE. By Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth.

"Fallen Pride" is published by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia, in a large duodecimo volume, bound in cloth, gilt back. Price $1.75 in cloth; or $1.50 in paper cover, and is for sale by all booksellers, and will be sent by the publishers to any one, post-paid, on receipt of price.

THE HEALTH REFORMER for December.

Published monthly at the Health Reform Institute, Battle Creek, Mich., under the supervision of an editorial committee of twelve. Terms: $1 per year, invariably in advance. Address "Health Institute," Battle Creek, Mich.

THE RADICAL for December.

It closes up the year most royally; adding, we are rejoiced to see by its announcement for 1869, strength to strength, until the patient but persevering editors and proprietors say "they anticipate entire success for its establishment on the basis they have proposed. The progress thus far, they say, is encouraging, and a few more years of determined effort cannot fail of a satisfactory reward." Heaven send that those years be very few. Finally, they say, "in putting the whole Magazine into uniform and larger type, it is hoped the general appearance will be improved; and it will also be enlarged to eighty-eight pages." The *Radical* enjoys, almost without rival in the country, the field theologically, which its name indicates. It deserves the sympathy and support of every lover of sound progressive philosophy. Its articles are, many of them, from the ablest and most philanthropic minds in the country. Its avowed purpose is, not to establish any kingdom of dogmas, but to liberate men and women from their prejudices, their fears and their vain hopes, preparing their minds for that construction of philosophy and perception of spiritual truth, which such liberation can alone command, and which their own free growth is mainly to accomplish.

One correspondent in the December number asks, "Where is the pen of Samuel Johnson?" He will learn to his heart's content where it is, when he receives the number, and will be farther rejoiced to learn that his favorite writer is to have another article in January; and that there will be another by Moncure D. Conway. Messrs. S. H. Morse and J. B. Marvin are editors and proprietors, 25 Broomfield street, Boston. Four dollars a year, in advance. Specimen numbers sent to any address, for thirty-five cents.

PUTNAM'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE of Literature, Science, Art, and National interests. G. Putnam and son, 661 Broadway, New York.

Without undervaluing other excellent periodicals of the kind, like the *Atlantic* and Harper's Monthlies, which are an honor to American literature and journalism, we have no hesitation in saying that in mechanical execution, as well as in reading matter, original and selected, prose and poetry, *Putnam's Magazine* for January, 1869, exceeds anything of the kind yet presented. The Messrs. Putnam, on the great progressive questions of the day, are in advance of the press generally, as recent selections from their pages in the "THE REVOLUTION" most conclusively show; and, with the compliments of the season, we wish them a patronage as liberal as their endeavors most eminently deserve.

THE NEW ECLECTIC MAGAZINE.

The January, 1869, number has been sent to "THE REVOLUTION." It will be always welcome. It is a literary Omnium Gatherum, most presentable every way in appearance, and, but for some remaining tinges of the southern peculiarity in its complexion, could not but command the respect of all who are proud of, or wish well to the literature of the country. Most of its selections are certainly very happily chosen, from the best magazine literature, foreign and domestic. It is published in Baltimore, Md., by Messrs. Turnbull & Murdoch, 54 Lexington street., at four dollars per annum—single numbers, thirty-five cents. The title-page is embellished, the publishers say, "with the colors of the city, black and orange." in compliment "to the bright little city for caring for them all with maternal solicitude." It has also a handsome frontispiece steel engraving of John Ruskin, and a most interesting sketch of that eminent author, critic and political economist. It is just the size of the *Atlantic* and *Putnam's* Monthlies and, like them, is worthy of, and will doubtless command, a liberal patronage.

THE NURSERY. A Monthly Magazine for youngest readers. Boston: John L. Shorey, 13 Washington street. New York: American News Co., 119 Nassau street. $1.50 a year.

The best judges and critics we know on the question, are our own and our neighbors' journals; and they have voted unanimously, ourself in the chair, that this is the very best thing for "youngest readers" the American press affords. The only trouble is, the *older* and *oldest* readers are apt to keep it too long, forgetting somehow, that it belongs lower down in the household.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for January is now too well known and too highly prized to be much affected by any blazonry of advertisement, and still less by any censure or unfriendly criticism. The January number contains the Prospectus for 1869, and a constellation of eminent names of contributors, that might illumine all the skies and promise and pledge that it is to be all that the best brain and heart of the age, both men and women, can make it. Four dollars per annum—two copies, seven dollars. Fields, Osgood & Co., Tremont street, Boston, New York: 63 Bleecker street.

CLOSE COMMUNION, OR OPEN COMMUNION. An Experience and an Argument. By Crammond Kennedy. New York: American News Company, 119 Nassau street.

We have not had time to look into this little book, nor do we take a deep personal interest in the subjects on which it treats; inclining, as we do, to say and to agree with the Apostle Paul in his Confession of Faith, I Corinthians, i Chap., 13–17. It can be said of the book, however, that it is well got up, contains 175 pages, and, from our slight acquaintance with the author, we can guarantee that his arguments will lack nothing in candor, sound logic, or ability.

DEMOREST'S NEW YEAR'S NUMBER.

This magazine improves with every year, is progressive, full of interest, and instructive information. A new feature for this year is the "Ladies Club," which seems already to have a long list of members. The fashions and patterns are as sensible and practical as usual. $3 yearly. Send 15 cents, for a specimen, to 838 Broadway, New York.

Financial Department.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND. A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep bright the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.*

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.—NO. 25.

THE POWER OF MONEY TO ACCUMULATE VALUE BY INTEREST.

THE ever-recurring question of Capital and Labor is likely to prove a source of bitter contention, until the just and equitable relation between the two is accepted. All the discussions of "a true financial policy," of the rights of labor for man, or woman, and of methods to promote individual and public honesty, turn and centre upon the point embraced in the heading of this article.

All other propositions for dealing with the Labor question are simply empirical. Until we know whether a portion of the products of labor belong to the reputed owner of the capital employed, and if so, precisely what portion, we are only stumbling in the dark, while we talk of "capital controlling labor," or "labor absorbing capital," or of "capital and labor receiving their equitable proportions of the surplus production."

As a matter of *policy* and expediency, various and innumerable plans may be preferable to our present system of finance; but if we propose a "Revolution" of our creeping, time-serving policy, then let us aim at the absolute right, not fearing but that the administration of affairs will fall into hands sufficiently timid and temporizing.

Among the powers attributed to money by Mr. Kellogg (neither of which are stated by him with sufficient accuracy), he denotes one as a "power to accumulate value by interest." Now, if money, or any kind of wealth, has any such power, it would not need the aid of special class legislation to effect it.*

And yet, interest or usury cannot exist until arbitrary or artificial inequalities and disabilities are first established by unjust laws, and the exercise of class prerogatives.

To confer such a power on money will, indeed, require a new medium of exchange. Coin, as Aristotle observes, has no such reproductive power, *per se*. A hundred dollars, by no alchemy, will beget six or seven, annually, only when the owner is placed in some relation to labor, like that of slave-owner, landlord, usurer or forestaller, by iniquitious institutions. The only way to realize the absurd proposition, is to make an entire currency of *compound interest notes*. We should then have a money that would answer Mr. Kellogg's requirement. And all interest, at even two per cent. per annum, would be found to absorb the whole property of the nation in about thirty-five years. How, even with such a currency, we should be able to prevent its being amassed in the hands of the few; so as to be let out at higher rates to the people for business purposes, is not explained; nor how landlords and forestallers would be prevented from realizing fifteen or twenty per cent. for its use, as now for greenbacks.†

If the *amount* of currency had anything to do with "business facilities," surely for the last half dozen years we should have had no stringency in the money market, nor lack of money for business purposes. But what is the fact? The very law establishing National Banks, provides that they may take two interests, one from the government on its bonds and another from the people.

At Bank rates, and the method of computing interest, the interest alone will absorb the entire currency of the country in less than ten years, and learn nothing of the business. And yet the amount paid on Government Bonds and to the Banks is not a moiety, is scarcely a tithe of what is absorbed by land and house rents, interest on bond and mortgage, and on capital in business, outside of banks, stocks, dividends, etc., etc.

It becomes us to inquire how all this interest is paid! We have seen that money has no power to multiply itself. If we should undertake to pay interest or rent on land, *in land*, we must soon reach bankruptcy; for the land does not increase. *Only in the products of labor*, can any "*increase*" be paid, and on the *laborer* alone falls the whole burden of this enormous wrong; a wrong rendered possible, only by the necessity which itself creates; through monopoly of the soil, and of the natural elements; through unjust laws, and subtle devices of the money power in moulding the financial and commercial policy of the nations.

The plan proposed, by the new policy, as far as appears, is to create Government bonds, for which, or rather into which, the paper currency may be convertible at will. At the present time, when our government might create some three billions of bonds on actual indebtedness this seems a plausible scheme; since to our popular financiering, a *vacuum* of wealth, or *debt*, is held to be the true basis for a substantial and permanent fiscal structure.‡

While this debt should continue increasing as during the war, no doubt money would be plenty, speculation prosperous, people extravagant, official corruption rampant and unchecked; while usury would be employed in devouring its victims with the greater celerity, in consequence of their partaking of the popular frenzy so as to be oblivious to the real nature of the doom they encountered.

But what, when the nation shall have to retrace all this mad, wanton march to the depths of indebtedness; when some future Jackson shall call for the redemption of his country from the grasp of Shylock combinations? Shall or can the nation go on forever multiplying bonds of indebtedness, in order to make money plenty for business, when nothing can fill the all-devouring mouth of avarice, which cries? "give, give," and absorbs with the greater facility the more is given? The truth, we must reach, sooner or later, is, that, no matter how great or small the nominal amount of currency there may be, or of what it may be composed, the interest bearing, in every case, a proportional ratio, will absorb it in the same length of time; and further and complete the very accumulation in the hands of one class and consequent deprivation of another it was proposed to remedy.

There is no road out of our social mire, but one of *honest* uprightness. To abolish slavery five days in the week is better than no proposition to abolish it at all; but as a practical proposition, it would not be less difficult than to abolish it altogether. Interest, if just, should not be meddled with; if wrong, it should be deprived of all legal sanction, and held up practically to the execration of the moral world. I agree with the moralists of all ancient and Christian times; that we can "take interest of no man, whose life we may not take without wrong." Hence money cannot have power to accumulate interest, and no man can exact it without crime. Any proposition to reduce the rate of interest is simply ridiculous.‖

Our statutes against illegal interest are not worth the paper on which they are printed. They are evaded daily and openly, and never catch any but a green one in their meshes. The penal statutes of the past, fearful and often bloody never had any effect to reduce, but rather increased the evil.

It is not scarcity of *money*, but of wealth, which the few have accumulated by this same process, that makes men willing to pay interest. This, with the illusory hope of unusual gain, which can be realized not oftener than prizes are drawn by the devotee of chance, reconciles and stimulates men to a career of indebtedness, which, with the extravagance engendered by the use of that themselves have not earned, in more than nine cases out of ten, leads to financial if not moral ruin.

What is true of individuals is equally true of nations; and although a paper currency, which should be really a *work-tally*, or measure of *labor cost*, might with benefit be adopted; it could only remain such, while secured against prostitution to usurious purposes.

The futility of any plan to reduce the rate of interest, which we acknowledge the right to accumulate in that way, is seen, when we reflect that interest now determines the price of all invested values, required to be exchanged. For instance, Government Bonds bring 100 per cent. or more, according as the interest they yield, sells for more or less than the current rate. Intrinsic value, or the use they may have, in a public or social view, has nothing to do with the value of stocks. The stocks that pay current rates are at par, while those that pay less are below. A house may have cost to build, a thousand dollars, if it fail to rent for the interest, the price depreciates. If it will pay five hundred dollars a year for a liquor saloon, gambling hell, or dance house, its price will appreciate four or five fold.

The result then of having money so plenty, if possible, as to reduce interest to two per cent. would be to put up the price of all investments three or four hundred per cent.; because the amount of rent and other considerations for the use of land, houses, and the elements necessary to be employed in human industry, are not determined by any rate per cent., but by man's necessity for them, caused by the very accumulations in a few hands of the land and wealth of the world, by the operation of this very system of *increase*, which was begotten of land-monopoly, slavery and gambling. A power in money, or in any system which enables accumulation of value to anything but labor, is a class power to confer on certain persons or classes the ability to live in society, and compel the services of mankind, *without labor*. Whether the Labor Congress proposes to adopt and cherish this vampire of the past, under the mistaken idea that if they extract all but two of his teeth he will prove not only harmless, but servicable, we shall see.§

I. K. Ingalls.

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* The scope of Mr. Kellogg's argument seems to have escaped our correspondent. He says distinctly that money has none but *legal* powers. We quote from the "New Monetary System," pp. 171, 172, the following:

"As we have said, the per centage interest that borrowers agree to pay for the use of money, simply determines what per centage rent they shall pay for the actual use of a certain amount of property for a given period. Borrowers use the property, not the money; and from the property they must produce or gain the means to pay the interest. If F. be a farmer, and borrow from A $1,000 at seven per cent., F. must raise one hundred and forty bushels of corn, and sell it at fifty cents a bushel to pay the yearly interest of seventy dollars. It is then the productiveness of F.'s farm coupled with F.'s labor that produces the money to pay the interest. The thousand dollars lent by A. to F. do not produce anything: but the money, by a legal, arbitrary power, takes one hundred and forty bushels of corn from F., and appropriates them to A.'s use. If A.'s thousand dollars possessed vital instead of legal power, and could hire land, buy the seed, plant, cultivate, gather, shell and sell the corn, it would then actually produce for A. what the money now legally compels F. to produce for him. But as no human law can make the dollar a naturally productive thing, it is impossible to gain wealth by finance, unless the labor of others produces what is gained by the financiers.

Money, then, earns for its owner by accumulative power; by a power to gather things already produced, and not by a natural power of growth, like that contained in the germ of wheat or grain. Where this power to accumulate by interest is made greater and more rapid than the natural power of production by labor, this law of interest becomes a most powerful engine of evil. It gathers into the hands of a few capitalists the productions of labor, and often deprives the producers of the necessaries of life."

† In the plan we are about to propose for the formation of a National Currency by the General government, all the money circulated in the United States will be issued by a national institution, and will be a representative of actual property, therefore it can never fail to be a good and safe tender in payment of debts. It will be loaned to individuals in every State, county and town, at a uniform rate of interest, and hence will be of invariable value throughout the Union. All persons who offer good and permenent security will be at all times supplied with

money, and for any term of years during which they will regularly pay the interest. Therefore, no town, county, or State need be dependent upon any other for money, because each has real property enough to secure many times the amount which it will require. If more than the necessary amount of money be issued, the surplus will be immediately funded, and go out of use without injury. It will be impossible for foreign nations, or any number of banks, or capitalists, to derange the monetary system, either by changing the rate of interest, or by inducing a scarcity or a surplus of money. It will be the duty of the government to ascertain as nearly as possible what rate of interest will secure to labor and capital their respective rights, and to fix the interest at that rate.—*New Monetary System, p. 274.*

‡ New States legalize high rates of interest to induce capital, that is money, to come into them for investment. But the money is not capital, for if the real capital did not first exist in these States in sufficient amount to secure the money it would never go into them. There could be no use for money in any part of the world unless the capital first existed; for there would be nothing to buy, and the money itself could afford no means of support, and would therefor be entirely useless—*N. M. S., p. 125.*

‖ From what has been said of unjust and fluctuating rates of interest, it must not be inferred that money loaned should bear no interest; for the accumulative power of money is as essential to its existence as food to the support of life. Without this power money would not represent production, and, consequently, could not be made an equivalent in payment either for labor or productive property, and therefore could not be maintained as a medium of exchange. We are, then, seeking no extreme measures but that just rate of interest which shall secure to the whole people the greatest good. We do not advocate the annihilation of interest, but we urge that the amount should not be so great as to oppress the laborer whose toil produces every necessary of life, and even the material for the medium of exchange.—*N. M. S., p. 125.*

§ When the government shall institute paper money secured by landed estates, and then found its value upon a just rate per cent. interest instead of upon its material, and shall make it a tender in payment of debts, it will rightly govern the value and distribution of property, for it will be sure to distribute the wealth according to the earnings of labor; whereas it is now sure to help a few to monopolize the wealth that the many produce by their labor. If the money be thus instituted, and a rate per cent. interest be established sufficient only to pay the expense of furnishing it, the money will form a just foundation upon which to build contracts.

We are aware that the financiers of this and other nations will tell the public, and endeavor to persuade the governments that this is impossible—that since it never has been done, it never can be done. They will be just as positive in relation to this all-important matter as kings and despots are that they have a divine right to reign, and that democratic or republican government is a trespass against Divine authority, and never will be permitted to stand except for a brief period of time. To fix and maintain a right rate per cent. interest for the use of money is striking at the very root of despotic power; and the producing public must expect to have it called impracticable, and to have a strong opposition to its adoption. Yet we do know that it is as practical for the government to supply the necessary quantity of money that shall be permanently safe, and regulate the rate per cent. interest as to fix and regulate the length of the yard. The government can do this so effectually that any person can as readily tell what the rate of interest will be in every part of this nation for five or ten years to come as to tell what will be the length of the yard. Money is as much a standard of value as the yard is of length, and it should and can be so instituted and governed, that anyone may as readily tell the value of money as the length of the yard.—*N. M. S., p. 365-3.*

THE MONEY MARKET

was easier at the close at 7 per cent. currency, though 7 per cent. in gold was paid till 2 p.m. on Saturday. The weekly bank statement shows the continuance of the drain of currency to the South.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	Dec. 12.	Dec. 19.		Differences.
Loans,	$263,360,144	$262,434,180	Dec.	$954,964
Specie,	19,140,788	18,643,584	Dec.	497,194
Circulation,	34,205,903	34,253,758	Inc.	147,852
Deposits,	189,337,415	183,077,228	Dec.	6,260,187
Legal-tenders,	54,015,865	50,796,133	Dec.	3,219,732

THE GOLD MARKET

was active and excited at the close owing to the warlike news from Europe. The price fluctuated from 135 to 136 on Saturday, opening at 135½, declining to 135, and afterwards advancing to 136.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, Dec. 14,	135¼	135⅝	135¼	135⅜
Tuesday, 15,	135¼	135⅜	135⅛	135⅜
Wednesday, 16,	135½	135⅝	135⅝	135¼
Thursday, 17,	134¾	134⅞	135¼	134⅜
Friday, 18,	134⅞	135½	134¼	135¼
Saturday, 19,	135½	135¾	135	135⅝

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was dull at the close of last week, prime bankers 60 days sterling bills ranging from 109¼ to 109½, and sight 109¾ to 110¼.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was strong and advanced last Saturday, chiefly in New York Central, Rock Island, Pacific Mail and North West preferred.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 36 to 38; W., F. & Co., 25 to 25¼; American, 44 to 46; Adams, 48½ to 49; U. States, 45½ to 46½; Merchants Union, 15½ to 16; Quicksilver, 21 to 22; Canton, 47 to 49; Pacific Mail, 115 to 115¼; W. U. Tel., 36 to 36¼; N. Y. Central, 133⅞ to 134; Erie, 37¾ to 38; do. preferred, 60 to 64; Hudson River, 126¼ to 127; Reading, 97 to 97¼; Wabash, 56 to 56¼; Mil. & St., P. 66¼ to 66½; do. preferred, 85 to 85½; Fort Wayne, 110½ to 110¾; Ohio & Miss., 29⅝ to 29¾; Mich. Central, 125½ to 127; Mich. South, 86⅞ to 87½; Ill. Central, 143 to 144; Pittsburg, 84 to 84½; Toledo, 101¼ to 101¾; Rock Island, 109½ to 109¼; North West, 77½ to 77¾; do. preferred, 80¼ to 80¼; B. W. Power, 13¾ to 14; B., H. & Erie, 24¾ to 26; Mariposa, 4 to 6; do. preferred, 18¼ to 18¾.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

are quiet, and the market closed steady.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 99¼ to 99½; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 109 to 109½; United States sixes, coupon, 114¼ to 114⅜; United States five-twenties, registered, 105¾ to 106; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1862, 110¼ to 110⅜; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1864, 106¼ to 106⅜; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1865, 107¼ to 107⅜; United States five twenties, coupon, new, 1865, 109¾ to 109⅞; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1867, 109¾ to 109⅞; United States five-twenties coupon, 1868, 110 to 110½; United States ten-forties, registered, 102½ to 102¾; United States ten-forties, coupon, 105 to 105¼.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week $1,561,481 in gold against $1,490,000 $1,631,000 and $1,739,000 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were $1,792,245 in gold against $3,036,500, $4,889,237, and $5,320,493 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, for the week were $3,202,177 in currency against $4,020,-991, $4,260,207, and $3,261,984 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were $272,545 against $483,320, $230,432, and $ 42,105 for the preceding weeks.

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